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The Shape of Things

IF JOSEF GOEBBELS KNOWS THE ART OF propaganda as well as he is supposed to, he must surely be longing to clamp a censor's hand over the mouth of his Führer. After all, this is no time for the victorious leader of a *Herrenvolk* to lose his nerve and dwell darkly on the fate of the late Kaiser. What can the master race think when, with the first strong gusts of adversity, their demigod tells them that "even in critical times" he won't "go abroad" like his royal predecessor? In the same speech there is the coy reference to Stalingrad, suddenly "not worth a second Verdun." And, finally, the whining complaint about the havoc wrought by the R. A. F.: "Do not think that my heart does not break when I hear of those air attacks. You know that I have not done anything like that. . . . I did not allow a single bomb on Paris. Before we attacked Warsaw I requested five times that the city surrender." Has Adolf forgotten Rotterdam—miles of streets leveled to the ground in a few flaming hours? And Belgrade, and Coventry, and London, and many lesser hells from Narvik to Athens? No, Adolf, you probably won't "go abroad." After all, where could you go? *

THE VICTORY IN EGYPT APPEARS TO GROW in extent and significance with each passing day. At the beginning of General Montgomery's offensive the Axis had ten divisions in Egypt—six Italian and four German. The six Italian divisions were abandoned by the Germans as soon as the retreat began and have apparently fallen almost intact into British hands. The German panzer divisions have lost the greater part of their strength, and the German 164th infantry division appears to have been badly mauled. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the victory was the perfect coordination between Allied air, sea, and ground forces. For the first time in the war the United Nations forces moved with the clock-like efficiency which the Germans displayed in 1939 and 1940. For the first time our side had the better equipment and the sounder leadership. The campaign also provided striking confirmation of the general belief that the Italian end of the Axis has completely broken down. Rommel's abandonment of his Italian

allies is not likely to make the Germans any better liked in Italy. And the alacrity with which the Black Shirts surrendered indicates that they are fed up not only with the war but, perhaps to an even greater extent, with Hitler and the Nazis.

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NOBODY KNOWS HOW MANY REFUGEES were shipped to North Africa by the Vichy government. Estimates have run as high as a hundred thousand though the number is probably less. Some thousands are in concentration camps; other thousands were put to work, in miserable conditions and under military discipline, on various operations for which free labor could not be found—or paid. The greatest number have been employed on the new trans-Saharan railway under construction between Morocco and West Africa territories—a project supposed to have been directed and financed by the Nazis. Now that Morocco seems certain to fall into American hands, the trans-Saharan railway will happily serve other ends than those for which it was designed. By the same token the refugee laborers and those still in concentration camps can also be promptly released for a different fate. Many thousands of these men are good soldiers, Spanish Republican troops and former members of the French Foreign Legion. Those who are physically fit should, of course, be given a chance to join the American army of liberation. Civilians and persons who have lost their health during years of confinement or forced labor in the African desert should be freed and cared for. As soon as possible those who please should be permitted to emigrate. The arrival of the Americans must mean that people as well as territories are to be freed from Vichy-Nazi control.

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THE AMERICAN POSITION IN THE SOLOMONS has been somewhat improved by a series of small advances to the east and west of Henderson Field on Guadalcanal. None of the operations in the past week appear to have involved heavy fighting, but the navy's report that more than five thousand Japanese have been killed in the Solomons since August suggests that the fighting has been on a larger scale than had been supposed. The precise results of the numerous air and sea clashes in the Solomons area are far from clear, but the failure of the Japanese to press their attack on Guadalcanal indicates that their losses may have been even greater than the official communiqués have revealed. There remains, of course, a strong possibility, as Secretary Knox suggests, that the Japanese will return in greater strength than before. But this may depend on developments on other fronts, particularly in Burma. United Nations strength in the Pacific is fast reaching the point where we rather than the Japanese will determine where the coming battles will be fought.

THE CAMPAIGN IN NEW GUINEA, IN WHICH forces under General MacArthur's command have not only stopped a dangerous Japanese advance but taken the offensive to good purpose, has been somewhat overshadowed by the more spectacular battles in the Solomons. Actually developments in these two Pacific theaters have been closely connected. The retreat of the Japanese after they had crossed the Owen Stanley Range to come within thirty-two miles of Port Moresby may have been influenced by the necessity for reinforcing their army and air force in the Solomons. At the same time the United Nations' air base at Port Moresby, from which so many long-range raids have been made against the enemy's fleet and supply depots in the northern Solomons, has been a prime factor in enabling us to maintain our grip on Guadalcanal. In late September, after Japanese communications had been shattered by the American fliers, the Australian infantry, adapting themselves with great ability to jungle warfare, began to push the enemy back over the mountains. Now they are approaching the Japanese base at Buna, which is also threatened by an American force driving along the north coast from the east after being transported by air from Australia in mid-October. Coincident with the announcement of this new expedition comes the news of the occupation by American troops of Goodenough Island, north of the Papuan Peninsula. This position guards the sea approaches by which Buna will have to be supplied if the Allied forces succeed in capturing it. Buna itself offers a possible base for a flanking attack against Japanese positions in the northern Solomons. Thus the two campaigns in the southern Pacific are becoming increasingly complementary although they are still under separate commands.

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MARSHAL PETAIN'S PECULIAR CONCEPTION of French "honor" was further illustrated last week when the Bank of France admitted through its attorneys here that \$200,000,000 of Belgian gold intrusted to its custody for safekeeping had been turned over to Germany by order of the aged Marshal. Because of this "compulsion," the Bank of France contends that it has been relieved of any obligation to return the gold to the National Bank of Belgium. It appears that the gold was originally shipped to Dakar instead of to London as the Belgians had requested. From there it was transferred to the Reichsbank as a result of an order issued at Vichy three days before the end of Laval's first term in office. The Bank of France argues through its attorneys, Coudert Brothers, that because of the rule of *force majeure* the Belgian government-in-exile has no claim on the French bank's assets in this country. The logic behind this argument is so reminiscent of many pages of "Mein Kampf" that we cannot believe it originated with the Bank of France.

PHILIP MURRAY CHARGED THE OTHER DAY that employers are deliberately flooding the War Labor Board with minor disputes, thereby hampering effective operation of the board and undermining union contracts with workers who no longer have recourse to the strike. Organized workers throughout the country, Mr. Murray said, "feel a growing sense of frustration" over management's refusal to settle plant grievances on the spot—and a sense of frustration is no aid to the morale of production. The C. I. O. intends to ask the WLB to issue a directive ordering all companies and unions to insert in present or future agreements a clause providing for compulsory arbitration of all disputes arising out of the contracts. It is curious to have labor suggesting compulsory arbitration even on this limited scale; but certainly the Labor Board should find a way of countering this new attack on collective bargaining and of protecting itself from loud charges of inefficiency by the very groups who are quietly swamping it with cases that should never be referred to it.

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MR. MURRAY ISSUED HIS STATEMENT AT Boston, where the C. I. O. convention is now in session. Unity between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. is scheduled to be one of the big issues, with Sidney Hillman heading the movement for reconciliation. One of his principal arguments is the dismal fact that division in the union forces has led, in two major cases, to the appointment to positions carrying vast authority over labor of men in whom labor, with reason, has little confidence. In Mr. Hillman's view, it was because the two great labor organizations could not agree on candidates that Paul V. McNutt and Wendell Lund were put in charge, respectively, of the War Manpower Commission and the Labor Division of the War Production Board. Whatever the difficulties involved in reconciliation—and they are admittedly great—division in the ranks has become a luxury which labor can no longer afford.

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REACTIONARY DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS ARE looking forward to joining hands with the newly enlarged Republican delegation in an all-out attack on New Deal labor legislation—an attack naturally camouflaged by the plea of war necessity. On page 513 of this issue Keith Hutchison discusses one phase of this campaign—the drive against the forty-hour week—and shows the misleading use which is being made of British figures. There are now signs that the whole offensive against labor may blow up under the pressure of its own extravagance. Senator O'Daniel's proposal to suspend the wages-and-hours law and legalize a seventy-two-hour week and Representative Rankin's demand for repeal of the Wagner Act have alarmed such newspapers as the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune*, which realize

that their own more moderate program of "reform" will be endangered by the anti-labor fanatics. If the correction of the Administration's labor policy, says the *Herald Tribune*, "is not to do far more harm than good, it must be undertaken with restraint and patience." Following the same line, the *Times* asks for "amendment" of the Wagner Act and suspension of the Wage-Hour Act so that overtime rates becomes legally obligatory only after forty-eight hours. But neither paper seems to realize the damage that can be done to morale by legislation directed solely against labor.

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THE MEDICAL SERVICE LEAGUE OF BERKELEY, California, a small but useful organization for distributing the costs of medical care, has been forced to disband because it was branded as "unethical" by the Alameda County Medical Association. Although the opposition of the A. M. A. to what it chooses to call "socialized medicine" is notorious, the local medical association seems to have gone far beyond the parent organization in attacking the Medical Service League. The league did not attempt to pool the costs of medical care or to provide sickness insurance. Each member paid for his own medical service, and the cooperating physicians were paid on a fee basis. Some reduction in fees was made possible, however, by the fact that the Medical Service League assumed responsibility for all administrative details, such as keeping records and making collections. Strangely enough, the attack on the league came after it had been in operation for four years. This suggests that war-time prosperity may be reversing the previous trend toward acceptance of cooperative plans that provide an assured if not large income for participating physicians.

To the Shores of Tripoli

ADDED to the thrill which action brings, we have the satisfaction of knowing that our first offensive against Hitler has been launched with brilliant efficiency. The strategic conception underlying our descent on North Africa is a broad one, promising large rewards, and it has been implemented on a commensurate scale. Moreover, close cooperation between the British and American commands has made possible an almost miraculous accuracy in the timing of operations.

Military expeditions of the kind we have undertaken in North Africa cannot be improvised. Plans must have been laid months back, for the necessary preparations were tremendous. The British Eighth Army, which had barely held Rommel's drive on Alexandria in the summer, had to be reinforced, reorganized, and reequipped so that it was ready to take the counter-offensive. When General Montgomery began his devastating preliminary bombardment of the Axis positions on the Alamein line,

our expeditionary force must have been assembling at embarkation ports. By the time Rommel's army had been cracked, the Anglo-American fleet and transports were concentrated at Gibraltar and creating a wave of jittery speculation in every Axis center. And now as the broken Afrika Korps flees westward, closely pursued by British tanks and planes, our troops are pressing toward Tunisia and "the shores of Tripoli," where once before the United States cleaned out a nest of pirates.

With the unexpectedly rapid fall of Algiers and the successful establishment of beachheads at several strategic points, there is reason to hope that the whole of North Africa can be taken over at a comparatively low cost in American and French lives. As we write, there appears to have been little more than token resistance. The total forces under Vichy orders are not large, and they are widely scattered, with probably the heaviest concentration at Dakar, where they are now isolated. Moreover, these troops have no modern planes or mechanized equipment, and their fuel supplies are believed to be very limited. The biggest danger is the French navy, but that may prove to have more nuisance value than fighting power. Its chief elements are divided between Dakar and Toulon, and even united could hardly match the Anglo-American fleet now in the Mediterranean, especially as the French have no carriers.

Assuming that Rommel is forced to evacuate the remnants of his army and that the United Nations take control of the whole North African coast, how much nearer will the Allies be to establishing a second front and relieving the pressure on Russia? We believe the Soviets will not have long to wait before feeling the beneficial effects of the Mediterranean offensive. Hitler's chronic man-power crisis now threatens to become acute. The major part of his army is concentrated in the east; most of the remainder is occupied in guarding and fortifying the coast from the Arctic to the Spanish frontier. Watch over the equally long Mediterranean coast has been left to the Italians, assisted by a small stiffening of German panzer and Luftwaffe units. But now the United Nations are getting in position to strike at the weakest flank of Axis Europe in many spots. Sardinia and Sicily are less than one hundred miles from Tunisia, and from these large islands both the Italian mainland and unoccupied France could be attacked. Again, with the threat to Suez removed, the British army in the Near East will be free to turn its attention to the Balkans, giving the Yugoslavian guerrilla front greater importance.

Undoubtedly Hitler will be forced to divert many divisions to the shores of the Mediterranean. Probably he will be driven to occupy the whole of France; perhaps he will try to bring Spain into the conflict so as to be able to attack our base at Gibraltar and use the Spanish army in Morocco against us. But he will not dare to strip his northern coastal defenses, for a large army remains in

Britain, and the opening of the Mediterranean will tremendously increase the transatlantic flow of men and materials. Where, then, is Hitler going to find the divisions he must send south without weakening his almost stalled army in Russia?

Our North African venture, then, promises both quick relief to Russia and the bases for a second front this winter under ideal climatic conditions. But if we are to make the best of this opportunity, it will be necessary to link political strategy to military strategy, and we confess that the Administration's first moves on the diplomatic front fill us with misgivings. For while the President proclaims on the one hand our intention to liberate France from "the Axis yoke," on the other he addresses honeyed words of "sincere friendship" to Franco, installed by the Axis to be jailer of the Spanish people. Are we to end the appeasement of Vichy only to intensify the appeasement of fascist Spain?

Of course, Mr. Hull has just explained that his policy toward Vichy was not appeasement but was designed "to pave the way . . . for the planning and sending of the military expedition into the western Mediterranean." This assumption of the mantle of Machiavelli by our Secretary of State strikes us as a trifle disingenuous. Does he really mean he was anticipating the North African landing as long ago as 1940, when the appeasement of Vichy began? And is he really suggesting that the State Department has been stringing Pétain and Laval along, purposely lulling their fears of American action? If so, he ought to be grateful for the attacks on his policy, which helped him to maintain his appeasement disguise.

Mr. Hull also claims that American policy toward Vichy was designed to keep alive "the basic concepts of freedom of the French people." This purpose seems to have been successfully concealed from those it was intended to encourage. All the evidence we have received from inside France suggests that our snubbing of the De Gaullist movement and the fraternization of our representatives with Vichy officials, served merely to confuse the French people and hinder the organization of opposition. The rapid growth of the underground movement and the increasing extent to which it has rallied around De Gaulle owe little to the State Department.

We hope, now that relations with Vichy have ended, that the Administration will attempt to make amends by full recognition of the De Gaullist movement. We believe that the exclusion of the Fighting French from the North African expedition was a mistake. After all, we are, in effect, asking the French garrisons in Africa to repudiate their allegiance to Vichy, and the Fighting French offer the only organized focus for such disaffection. Why, then, should we thrust them into the background? We ought rather to bring them forward and seek their cooperation in the civil administration of the occupied territory. It would be a fatal mistake to rely for

this purpose on officials appointed by Vichy because of their willingness to collaborate with the Axis. In this connection, an unofficial London report to the effect that Admiral Darlan is being "entertained in Algiers with all the respect and dignity due to his rank and record" is definitely disturbing. We hope this report proves untrue, for there is no reason to think that Darlan is any less of a traitor than Laval, and his anti-British bias is notorious.

Against this must be set the recognition by General Eisenhower of General Henri Giraud as responsible for military and civil affairs in French North Africa. General Giraud is a first-class soldier, whose escape from a German prison camp thrilled all France. And he has since then steadily refused to bow the knee to Vichy. On the other hand, his appointment to leadership in North Africa, apparently without any consultation with the Fighting French organization, looks like another attempt to sidetrack the men who have kept the flag of Free France flying. It is not our business to pre-select the leadership of our allies.

More than ever in the new stage of the war that is opening we need to use our political weapons effectively. If we are to gather strength inside France and recruit support inside Italy and Spain, we must convince Frenchmen and Italians and Spaniards that we are coming to liberate them not merely from the yoke of Hitler but from the grip of those who, because of their hatred and fear of democracy, have prostituted themselves for Hitler's ends.

Dunderhead Election

BY ROBERT BENDINER

GEORGE NORRIS, weary and bewildered, reflected on his first election defeat in nearly forty years. "The more I think of it," said the greatest Senator of our day, "the more bewildered I get. I can't understand it. . . . I went down to defeat for reasons that even my enemies cannot explain." Senator Norris might as well have been speaking of the election as a whole, for the myopia which without rhyme or reason had suddenly brought his magnificent political career to an end was not confined to the voters of Nebraska. Taken as a whole, the election showed the same shortsightedness throughout the country, the same preoccupation with the petty, the local, and the immediate, the same failure to rise to the greatness of the times. An election that might have proved much proved little, notwithstanding the effort to fit the results into preconceived patterns by experts who affect to see in them variously a rebuke to the New Deal and a demand for a stronger New Deal, an expression of concealed isolationism and a clarion for a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

In reality what emerged from the vote was hardly more than a long series of ballot totals reflecting dissatisfaction here, political ineptitude there—the revenge of farmers for the Administration's curb on food prices, the gratitude of villagers for the personal services of a Congressional appeaser, a general failure in all but a few key spots to concentrate on issues that go beyond the moment or the Congressional district. A resurgence of militant isolationism is hardly indicated by the victories of such interventionist Republicans as Governor Stassen and Senator Ball in Colonel Lindbergh's own Minnesota or of Clare Boothe in Connecticut; or by the defeats of Representatives Hill of Washington and Shanley of Connecticut, both former New Dealers who broke with the President specifically on foreign policy. On the other hand, it is straining things excessively to see a people's mandate for a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the reelection of such pernicious isolationists as Senator Brooks and Representatives Fish, Hoffman, and Day. It is tragic that so little attention was paid to pre-Pearl Harbor records and that as a result we shall be saddled with a Congress of little minds at the peace, should the war end before 1945. Despite exposures of the Dunderheads, it is plain that in most localities the voters simply refused to make foreign policy an issue.

It is important to recognize that fact because the only thing worse than the incoherence of the election results is the attempt to read into them meanings which are not there. What can be demonstrated, however, is that the vote followed the immemorial trend of mid-term elections to run against the party in power, whatever the issues of the day. This quadrennial ebbing of the tide is not necessarily prophetic with regard to the succeeding Presidential election, despite the war whoops of G. O. P. officials who profess to see Wilson's 1918 in Roosevelt's 1942. The fact is that, with the exception of 1934, every mid-term election for the past thirty-six years has witnessed a loss for the party in power, and the average loss, counting both houses, has been fifty-one seats. In five of those eight instances the losing party has gone on to win in the next Presidential election. The last example was in 1938, when the Democrats lost a total of seventy-seven seats, only to bring in a smashing victory for Roosevelt two years later. This time they have lost a total of fifty-two seats in both houses, with three Congressional contests still in doubt. Considering the military losses we have suffered, the bitter division of the country during and after the last election, the unprecedented fact of a third term, and the plunging of a relatively comfortable people into the sudden experiences of the military draft, battle casualties, loss of cars, quadrupled taxes, food rationing, and all the other necessary war-time interferences with private existence, it is astonishing that the Democratic Party was able to resist the normal mid-term tide as well as it did.

In so sprawling and formless an election it is natural that the good and the bad should be inextricably tangled. On the whole there was more bad than good. Aside from the peerless Norris, the Administration lost the support of such Senatorial stalwarts as Brown of Michigan, Lee of Oklahoma, Schwartz of Wyoming, and Herring of Iowa. Murray of Montana, knifed by Senator Wheeler, won by the narrowest margin. In addition to its serious numerical losses in the House—enough to give control to an inevitable coalition of Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats—the Administration, not to mention the country, will have to endure the dreadful antics of its worst Representatives. The Michigan Republican delegation, one of the most intemperate reactionary cliques that ever disgraced Congress, has been returned intact. Hamilton Fish, notwithstanding his shady activities, has managed to squeak through, his victory already noted with pleasure in Berlin. Stephen A. Day, the Flanders Hall author who branded the Atlantic Charter “the most discouraging statement of principles since the birth of Christ,” is back again. So are Barry and Taber of New York, Vorys of Ohio, Dewey Short of Missouri, and ninety-three other Dunderheads who did what they could to leave the country unprepared for the struggle that engulfed it on December 7. On the red side of the ledger must also be recorded the reelection of Senators Brooks and Lodge, to a lesser degree the victory of Clare Luce over a capable New Dealer with a good voting record, and the shameful defeat, at the hands of the Catholic church, of the proposed amendment whereby Massachusetts physicians would have been permitted to give married women contraceptive advice in cases warranted by the health of the patient.

A few scattered gains are recorded for liberalism in the Congressional elections, notably the victory of Lieutenant Will Rogers, Jr., over the labor-baiting Leland Ford of California, and the surprising comeback of the Progressive Party in Wisconsin, where Governor Julius P. Heil went down to defeat at the hands of the comparatively unknown Orland S. Loomis.

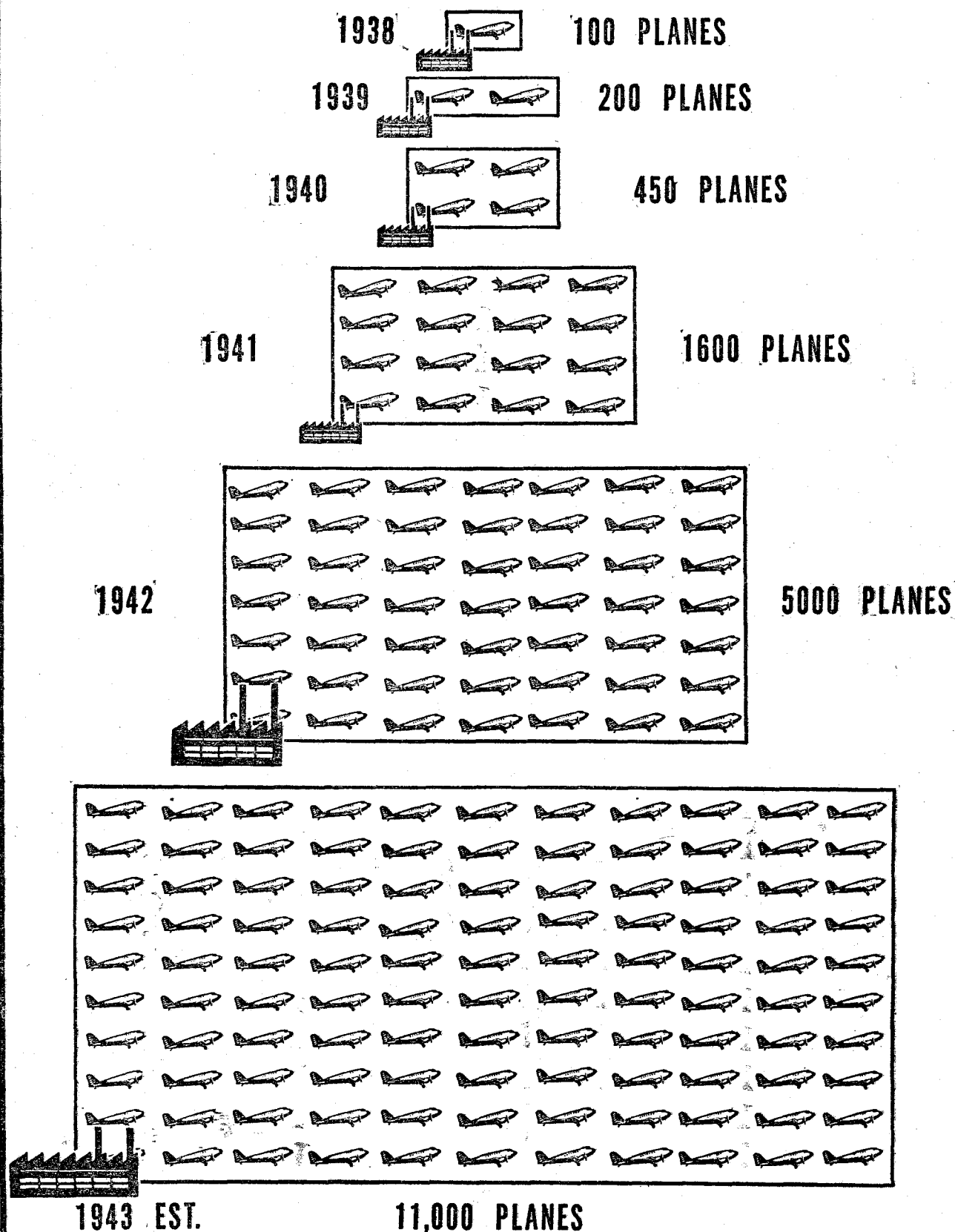
For such genuine encouragement as is to be had from this election, however, one must turn, paradoxically, to the New York State campaign, where the Republicans scored their greatest triumph. Here two events occurred which offer enough hope for 1944 to offset the dismal news elsewhere. First the Democratic Party has in all likelihood been saved for the New Deal. In any event it has not been lost. Had John J. Bennett defeated Thomas E. Dewey for governor, or even made a close race of the election, control of the party would have passed to James A. Farley. In that case the country would have faced a choice in 1944 between a Republican and an anti-New Deal Democrat; 1920 would be here again, with a new Harding to bury the people's peace for which

a people's war is being fought. The smashing defeat of the Democrats in New York, the worst in twenty years, would seem to eliminate the Farley threat and leave hope for a New Deal candidate to succeed Franklin D. Roosevelt.

For the preservation of this hope, the country has the American Labor Party to thank. Its leaders saw the problem clearly and had the courage to persist in the face of tremendous pressure, including the indorsement of Bennett which party regularity demanded of the President. Behind Dean Alfange, who conducted an extremely able and informative campaign, the A. L. P. operated for the first time completely on its own power. The party which Farley had suggested might hold its convention in a telephone booth polled 409,000 votes for Alfange and considerably more for Lieutenant Governor Poletti. In a year in which the reactionary tide is supposed to be running high it polled 10.1 per cent of the total vote, as compared with its previous high of 8.8 per cent in the Lehman victory four years ago. Mr. Farley's miscalculation should not only cost him his political head but demonstrate to future campaigners that the American Labor Party is a major independent force in New York, with a core of followers who place allegiance to the principles of the New Deal above loyalty to any individual or machine.

No one or two explanations can account for the diverse results of so complex a campaign, but several factors in the Republican gain, aside from those already touched on, are worth mentioning. The Democratic Party has always drawn heavily on industrial workers and on young voters, precisely the two classes which lost strength at the polls because of military service and the geographical shifting of labor forces in war industries. Labor leadership itself, particularly outside New York, was unusually inept, the head of the American Federation of Labor going to the length of indorsing such obstructors of the war effort as Engel of Michigan and even Day of Illinois, merely because they had voted right on certain test labor issues. Finally, the leadership of the Democratic Party itself was lackadaisical. The campaign in behalf of Congressional candidates who sought to unseat the most notorious isolationists was a disgrace. Practically no money was spent to aid them in presenting their case to the voters, and if it had not been for the Union for Democratic Action they would have been left without campaign literature of any kind. From above came none of the fighting spirit or social imagination that had fired the enthusiasm of the country in previous campaigns. Let 1942, particularly the showing of the American Labor Party, be a warning: unless the Democratic Party is prepared to proclaim the New Deal instead of apologizing for it, it will lose its appeal. When the voters of this country want reaction, they know where they can get it in a purer form.

MONTHLY PRODUCTION OF WARPLANES IN THE U. S.



GRAPHIC BY PICK-9

Washington and the Offensive

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 9

WASHINGTON, official and unofficial, is as cheered as occupied Europe by the news that our troops are on the march in North Africa. There is a feeling of pleasure that this time we have taken the initiative, that it is the enemy's turn to be surprised, that we have gone into action in the west at last. Not the least of the advantages of the offensive is its tonic effect on morale, and there will be a good deal less bickering as long as we go forward. Other issues suddenly seem to fade into the background beside this new enterprise.

The landings and their propaganda accompaniment were staged with a sense of history. Who could fail to be moved by General Eisenhower's proclamation to the French of North Africa, "The war has entered the phase of liberation"? One imagines the feelings of a listener at a radio in some lonely attic in France who suddenly heard that voice say, "My friends . . ."

The advocates of a second front have been so accustomed to think in terms of a frontal attack upon the French coast that the direction of the new offensive has left some of them uncertain. But there seems to be general agreement among those in touch with the military that though this is not yet a second front it may soon become one, if only because Hitler must make a major reply. If Anglo-American forces succeed in obtaining control of the western Mediterranean, the way is opened for an attack on Italy or southern France, operations regarded as much easier than an attempt to establish a bridgehead on French Atlantic or Channel beaches bristling with German guns. With this threat at his rear, Hitler can no longer concentrate on the eastern front. It is expected here that the combination of the Anglo-American offensive in North Africa and unrest in France may force Hitler to occupy the rest of that country and that strategic necessities may soon compel him to send troops into Spain.

Provided we follow through with additional forces, North Africa should become a major front. Some eighteen months ago a proposal for a North African campaign, designed to clear the way for an offensive against Italy, was made by General José Asensio, last military attaché in Washington of the Spanish Republic. It was presented to our own government through unofficial channels, but there is no indication that it obtained much response. The General and several other exiled Loyalist officers felt that Spain itself would make a poor bridge-

head for a Continental invasion because of the ease with which small German forces could hold the few passes through and around the Pyrenees. But they did envisage action against Spanish territory to safeguard the supply lines of a North African advance, and their ideas are useful background against which to form an understanding of coming events.

They felt that the first step should be the occupation of the Canaries, from which German submarines and planes could attack shipping to North Africa, and the second, the envelopment and seizure of Spanish Morocco, which threatens not only water but land communications between the North African Atlantic coast and Algeria. The American forces, by landing on both sides of Spanish Morocco would seem to be in a good position to take it over before the Germans can strike south through Spain. The Spanish troops in Morocco, traditionally reactionary and traditionally pro-German, recruited from adventurers and native mercenaries, are believed to be the only Spanish troops on which Hitler can depend if he moves into Spain. Spanish Morocco is full of German "technicians" who have been preparing since 1936 to neutralize Gibraltar and close the Straits, and it is believed that they can do so easily unless we beat them to the punch. Less well known is the fact that troops from Spanish Morocco, striking south to the valley of the Tazza between the Moroccan border and the Atlas Mountains, could also cut the principal, if not the only practical, land highway between the Atlantic and Algeria. In dealing with this potential threat from the Canaries, Spanish Morocco, and Spain, it is hoped that the actions of our armed forces will be governed by strategic necessities rather than by the illusions which some officials in the British Foreign Office and the State Department still seem to cherish about Franco.

There are several possible explanations of why we have not already moved against any of these territories. It may have been thought best to land first in French North Africa, establishing an easy base from which to attack the Canaries and encircling Spanish Morocco. It may have been felt that, in order not to antagonize Catholic opinion at home and in Latin America, it was better to leave the initiative with Hitler and let him attack Spain first. There are also those in London and Washington who think Franco independent enough to be dickered with and to be trusted, people who think Franco can be won over to our side. These illusions may be useful to Hitler if he prefers to keep out of Spain

for the time being. Spain is thus the exposed flank of our political thinking, as it is of our military advance. Anti-Loyalist antipathies and pro-Franco leanings interfere with the full utilization of the knowledge and experience of Spanish military exiles familiar with the North African terrain and anxious to help. Officers and men are available here and in Mexico for two full divisions of Loyalists. Pro-Franco leanings account in part for maneuvers which leave the initiative in Spain with Hitler. There are forces in the State Department which would like somehow to defeat Hitler while leaving Franco to control Spain, and the twin forces of church and monarchy to rule Italy. They are trying to keep the war as little as possible a democratic crusade, to direct it and the post-war world as far as they can into Metternichian molds.

It is this background of anti-democratic tendencies which makes Secretary Hull's elaborate explanations of past pro-Vichy policy unconvincing. The test of the State Department's sincerity is a new attitude toward the Fighting French. But such an attitude has yet to appear. Fighting French headquarters here last night

were a gloomy place, when they should have been jubilant. The Fighting French felt left out of the picture and unwanted; their forces took no part in the landing, and their information from London was that De Gaulle was neither consulted nor informed in advance. While the State Department still looks back with pride on the period when it was collaborating with Weygand, the Fighting French blame the Murphy-Weygand negotiations for the lack of an organized underground in North Africa. De Gaullist work was discouraged by American friendship for Weygand, and the potential opposition was organized around Weygand in the open, where the Germans had no difficulty in smashing it as soon as he was recalled to France. Some State Department officials still put their hope in a "third France" which is neither De Gaullist nor collaborationist, but Frenchmen too milk-and-watery to choose sides in so critical an hour would hardly seem to be very energetic or trustworthy allies.

These unwholesome tendencies in our State Department were never more dangerous than now, when the war has entered a new stage.

A British Reply to Louis Fischer

BY GRAHAM SPRY

London, October 29

THE thesis of Louis Fischer's two articles, *Why Cripps Failed*, is that Sir Stafford promised the Indian leaders a National Government functioning as a Cabinet, subject to no overriding powers by the Viceroy, and that on April 9 instructions from London compelled Sir Stafford to withdraw his promise. That is Fischer's thesis. It is a simple thesis, but it is a wholly false one.

Its falsity is established by published documents of the negotiations, by the course of the negotiations, and by admissions in Fischer's own articles. Fischer arrived in Delhi after the mission had returned to London, was not present during the negotiations, and had no access to the records of the mission. His evidence in support of his thesis is drawn solely from conversations with officials and party leaders, from newspaper editorials, and from hearsay.

I do not wish to establish the falsity of Fischer's thesis merely from my own knowledge. But it must be said that I was present with Sir Stafford and working in his house throughout the entire negotiations. I was in his intimate confidence and knew at any moment what instructions Sir Stafford received and what stage the negotiations had reached. With the full knowledge, then, of every docu-

ment, telegram, and discussion, I state with all definiteness that Cripps did not make, did not seek to make, to Indian political leaders any promise of National or Cabinet government with full powers in the war period, and received no instructions from London to withdraw such promise or concession. There was no such promise and no such instruction.

Documents published by both the British government and the National Congress Party support my own knowledge and wholly contradict Fischer. According to Fischer, Sir Stafford made this supposed promise of "National Government with full powers" at the "beginning" of the negotiations. He quotes only one document to support this assertion. It is a letter, dated April 11, in which the president of the Congress, Maulana Abdul Azad, alleges that in "our first talk," Sir Stafford said, "there would be a National Government which would function as a Cabinet." The "first talk" Sir Stafford had with any Congress Party leader was on the afternoon of March 25. That afternoon Maulana Azad was the only negotiator for Congress, and he brought his own interpreter, Mr. Asaf Ali. Azad was given a copy of the proposals of Sir Stafford, and through the interpreter he asked and received explanations.

There follows a series of conversations and letters.

These letters have all been published. In no letter written by a leader of the Congress Party is there a single reference to any promise of National Government with full powers; on the contrary, every reference is that it has not been made. Only after the negotiations ended did Maulana Azad, in letters of April 10 and 11, refer to any promise or suggestion of a National Government with full powers. If Sir Stafford, as Fischer alleges, made such a promise, why did the Congress leaders fail to refer to it in any letter until *after* they had broken off negotiations?

On March 27, at 2:15 p.m., Gandhi by invitation called at 3 Queen Victoria Road to meet Sir Stafford. He left at 4:25 p.m. He had stated at length the reasons why he considered Congress would reject the proposals. On March 29 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru arrived in Delhi and for the first time entered the negotiations. On April 1 the Working Committee of the Congress Party drafted a resolution of the rejection, and on April 3 this reached us at 3 Queen Victoria Road.

As we knew in Delhi at the time, and as Fischer himself wrote in his first article, all parties had rejected the proposals by March 29. In fact, Gandhi, the decisive influence in the Congress Party, had rejected the proposals on March 27. Is Azad, then, the only person to whom Fischer alleges such a promise was made? If Fischer's thesis has any truth in it at all, then this resolution of the Congress Party, handed by Congress leaders to Cripps on April 3 (but not published until April 11), might be expected to quote Sir Stafford's promise.

In this long resolution of the Congress Party there is no reference to any such promise. This is itself conclusive that no promise was made at the beginning of negotiations: if a promise had been made, it is incredible that such skilful negotiators as the leaders of Congress would have left it out of the record. It is not in the record, and it is not in the record because no promise was made.

Only two paragraphs in this resolution discuss the war period, which alone is relevant to any promise of immediate National Government with full powers. In these two paragraphs there is no reference to any promise of such a form of government, no reference to Cabinet government, no reference to any removal of the overriding powers of the Viceroy; the statements of the Congress resolution quite specifically deny Fischer's thesis. They read: "British War Cabinet proposals are vague, altogether incomplete, and there would appear to be no vital changes in the present structure contemplated. It has been made clear that the defense of India will, in any event, remain under British control."

On the clear evidence of Congress's own statement that "no vital changes" were contemplated, the promise that Fischer alleges was made had not been made by April 3.

Perhaps, however, Fischer means it was made toward the end of the negotiations. Seven days remained between April 3 and April 9, when the second and final Congress rejection was received.

These days were devoted almost exclusively to the discussion of an interim government in India before the establishment of an Indian constitution-making body and the drafting of a new constitution. The purpose of the discussion was to find the form of words which, while preserving final British control of defense policy, would yet insure Indian party leaders in the Viceroy's Executive Council a sense of full participation, both in the government and in the organization of the Indian war effort. Sir Stafford offered the Indian leaders not merely "can-tees" and "stationery," as Fischer inaccurately protests, but the control of the vital Departments of State, of Finance, of Labor and Man-Power, of Supply and Economic Warfare, of Commerce, Information, Legislation, and Police. With the exception of the control of the organization of the armed forces, these departments covered the whole sphere of all-Indian government. The single exception was specifically stated in Clause E of the Cripps proposals and was never altered one iota in principle in any letter or formula.

The problem at this state of the negotiations was, then, to find a formula within the terms of Clause E which would both insure that control of the defense of India remained with the British government and enable the Indian leaders to appeal to their followers on the ground that they, the leaders, were fully sharing in the direction of the war effort as a whole.

That was the endeavor in the numerous formulas drafted by Sir Stafford and staff, by the Viceroy and staff, and, as Fischer's article indicates, by Congress Party leaders. Some of these formulas were discussed with the Commander-in-chief and his senior officers. On April 7 Colonel Louis Johnson, personal representative of the President of the United States, on the invitation of Pandit Nehru and after consultation with the Viceroy, appeared in the discussions, and in his personal, not official, capacity performed his admirable service as intermediary between Sir Stafford and the Congress Party leaders.

The most important of the formulas have been published. They define in precise terms the exact content of the discussions. Neither in formulas nor correspondence about them is there any evidence that a promise of full Cabinet government had been made. Such evidence as there is points the other way. The very existence of the formulas is itself a denial of any promise, for if full powers had been promised, the Congress leaders would have had no need to discuss their division. The fact that the Congress leaders discussed the drafted formulas establishes fully that they recognized that complete war-time powers had not been promised.

There is other positive proof in these documents that

no such promise was made, and there is the proof Fischer's own articles supply that Sir Stafford was at some pains to make clear to Congress leaders that Cabinet or National Government with full powers was not under discussion.

On April 7 Sir Stafford wrote Maulana Azad that he had consulted the Viceroy and the War Cabinet and that a new formula had been approved. In this letter Sir Stafford uses the term "National Government." What does he mean by that term—Cabinet government with full powers, subject to no overriding power by the Viceroy? No; Sir Stafford made it abundantly plain that "it is impossible to make any change in the existing constitution," and that the commander-in-chief "retains full control over all war activities, subject to the control of His Majesty's Government." The statement could not be clearer.

Fischer's second article quotes the use of the word "Cabinet" in a single formula. This formula was drafted by the Congress Party amending a draft without any reference to the term "Cabinet" submitted to them by Sir Stafford. According to Fischer, the Congress Party changed Sir Stafford's draft and inserted the words "National Cabinet." What did Sir Stafford do to the Congress draft? He deleted the term "National Cabinet" and made his own position once again clear beyond any possible doubt by inserting the words "Executive Council," that is, the Executive Council of the Viceroy. These changes, according to Fischer's own admission, were made on April 8.

This formula was discussed by correspondence with Colonel Johnson as intermediary between Sir Stafford and Pandit Nehru. It underwent a number of small changes to meet the wishes of Pandit Nehru, but the term "National Cabinet" does not reappear. The fact that it does not reappear establishes once again that the Congress leaders recognized that it was not promised. Late that day the formula which it was believed the Congress Party would accept was left with Pandit Nehru by Colonel Louis Johnson. That formula has been published. It makes no mention of a Cabinet or National Government with full powers and scrupulously emphasizes that the commander-in-chief will retain "the control of the armed forces" and "the conduct of the war."

What Fischer does not mention is that the Congress Party Working Committee accepted this formula. Throughout April 8 the staff of the mission at 3 Queen Victoria Road grew more and more optimistic that a settlement would be reached. Reports from officials and from journalists who had called at Birla House, where the Congress Working Committee was meeting, stated that the proposals would be accepted. At 2:45 p.m. a senior Indian official called and said that a member of the Congress Working Committee, whom he named, had announced to the press at Birla House that the defense

formula had been agreed upon by the committee and "there would be no going back." Throughout the next day similar reports poured in. A leading Congress member who had been closely associated with negotiations in Delhi telephoned from Calcutta and congratulated Sir Stafford on the decision of Congress to accept the scheme.

From Congress Party sources the report had gone forth from Delhi to Calcutta, to Bombay, to Madras that a settlement had been reached and that the Cripps mission had been successful.

At 5:35 p.m., April 9, Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru arrived; they remained until 8:05 p.m. They discussed with Sir Stafford the defense formula and raised no objections to it. This formula had been originally drafted by the Viceroy and approved by the War Cabinet. Congress



Maulana Azad

made no objection to what the Viceroy and Cabinet had approved, and the Viceroy and War Cabinet accepted the formula that Congress did not reject. How, then, could there arise any occasion for an intervention by cable, on April 9? On the only issue under discussion there was no disagreement. There was, then, no fateful cable sent from London by "reactionary imperialists" calling Sir Stafford to heel. There was no promise, as Fischer alleges, and there was no telegram.

But Azad and Nehru had more to convey than the acceptance of the defense formula. In this long interview they raised the whole issue of the powers of the Viceroy and insisted that the Viceroy should act as constitutional monarch only. Azad and Nehru called, in fact, to put an end to the negotiations.

On April 10 Azad wrote a long letter. For the first time he wrote that Sir Stafford had referred to a "National Government and a Cabinet consisting of Ministers," but that "they [Congress] were informed that nothing could be said at this stage about the conventions that should govern the new government and Viceroy."

Sir Stafford replied the same day, and in this letter explained why the Congress Party demand for "Cabinet government with full power" was quite impossible. He wrote, "Were such a system introduced by the convention under existing circumstances, the nominated Cabinet [nominated presumably by major political organizations], responsible to no one but itself, could not be

removed and would, in fact, constitute an absolute dictatorship of the majority," that is, a Congress or Hindu majority in the Cabinet.

It is essential, if any fair judgment of British policy at this juncture is to be formed, that the real nature of this Congress Party demand be understood. Congress demanded a Cabinet, not of elected members of a legislature, but of members of party organizations, a Cabinet composed of party members responsible neither to a legislature, and through a legislature to an electorate, nor to the Viceroy. In fact, it proposed a self-perpetuating autocracy which could be voted out of office by no legislature, dismissed from office by no overriding powers of the Viceroy. No other political or communal group in India would tolerate such a government for an instant; it would have subjected those other groups to a Congress or Hindu majority in that dictatorship.

That is what Sir Stafford's letter, in diplomatic terms, replied to Azad. But there was an even more crucial aspect which Sir Stafford, for sound reasons, avoided stating. It was this: the decisive influence upon the Congress Party is Gandhi; Gandhi is a sincere proponent of the philosophy of non-violence, or pacifism.

The Congress Party demanded an autocratic Cabinet with full powers. On any proportionate basis of representation the Congress Party, or that party plus Hindus from other parties, would form the majority in the Cabinet. Could Sir Stafford, could any government—British, American, Russian, Chinese—agree to set up an irremovable Cabinet responsible to and dismissible by no higher authority or no legislature, and in time of war face the risk that the defense of India would become subject to a philosophy of pacifism? Nehru, Azad, and many other important leaders of the Congress Party believe in active resistance, are vigorous anti-fascists. The greater part of the rest of the Congress Party supports resistance to the Japanese. But resistance by what means? They have usually defined resistance as non-violent resistance. On May 2 the All-India Congress Committee voted 176 to 4 in favor of non-violence (it rejected at the same time Rajagopalachari's proposal for cooperation with the Moslems). Let me be perfectly blunt—the risk of interference in the defense of India by believers in non-violence could not be taken with Japanese troops on the borders of India and the Japanese navy in the Bay of Bengal.

On April 11 Azad replied in stronger terms, asserting that Sir Stafford had promised Cabinet government in "our very first talk." This letter Fischer quotes at the beginning of his articles and goes on to say that Sir Stafford never denied the assertion. This point, which has already been answered, is, of course, the purpose of Sir Stafford's most important letter, of April 10, which Fischer himself quotes.

There is a denial in Fischer's own article, the denial

made clear by Sir Stafford's deletion of the term "National Cabinet" from the Congress formula. There is a denial in the broadcast which Sir Stafford made to India and the world on April 11.

Fischer's thesis, then, falls bleakly to the ground, unproved and disproved. His own statements prove nothing. Every statement of the Congress leaders throughout the negotiation up to the final rejection confirms that there is no basis for Fischer's suspicions, none at all.

On April 12 and April 13 the hounds of propaganda were unleashed. It was impossible to besmirch Sir Stafford's sincerity or to deny the long-term offer of full dominion status, as full as Britain's or Canada's. The story of the "sabotaging" of the Cripps mission took shape, and it has been barked around India, around the world. I personally heard the story in its first forms from Congress supporters before I left India; it was repeated to me in various guises from New York to San Francisco in my ten weeks' visit in America immediately after the mission. Fischer and *The Nation* have elaborated it into its classic mold.

"Why did Cripps fail?" asked Fischer, and proceeded to give only the answer of the Congress Party.

The answer of history is to be found not in telegrams from London nor in events presumed to have occurred in London or in the Viceroy's house or in Sir Stafford's headquarters, but inside the Congress Party itself. The success of the mission was possible; if the Congress Party had stood by its own acceptance of the final form of the proposals, the other parties in India would have readily accepted them. There would have come into being a government of the principal Indian political leaders controlling through the Executive Council the great Departments of State. This Executive Council would have ruled India by its own majority decisions, for that is the law of the existing constitution. It would have been subject to no use or exercise of the Viceroy's overriding powers so long as the Hindu majority did not impose its views on Moslem or other minorities and so long as the organization of the defense of India was not impeded. It would have represented the power and will of the great political parties of all India. In practice that Executive Council would have been the supreme government of India; so long as it resisted the pacifist wing of the Congress Party and cooperated fully in waging war in every sphere of its activities, there would not have been interference. The tragic disorders that inevitably followed when Gandhi and Congress attempted last August to stimulate a campaign of mass civil disobedience would not have occurred.

As M. N. Roy, former leader of the Congress Party and former member of the Third International, wrote in the *Statesman* of Delhi, April 12, "Britain's offer visualized the real transfer of the power to wage war for the defense of the country. Only the power to make peace with the invader, instead of resisting him, was withheld."

Can Volstead Stage a Comeback?

BY WILL CHASAN

UNDISTURBED by scoffers and critics, prohibitionist leaders are calmly predicting that national prohibition is coming back, "this time for good." The growth of dry sentiment during the last war, which caused the *New York Times* in 1919 to announce that "prohibition seems to be the fashion, just as drinking once was," is one source of the prohibitionists' present optimism. A more immediate one is the Gallup poll's revelation that 55 per cent of the people want more stringent regulation of the liquor industry, and that 36 per cent want it abolished. The Gallup poll, say the prohibitionists, reveals "the rising tide that will soon sweep the liquor traffic off the map."

The war obviously has provided the prohibitionists with a superlative opportunity. There is a general notion that alcohol "menaces the fighting efficiency of a nation"; and parents whose sons are in the army are easily worked up by talk of drunkenness in the camps. Both of these facts were nicely exploited by the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union during the last war, and the country is now being subjected to a repeat performance.

The propaganda for a war-time ban on drinking now descending on the country is cunningly simple. Its main theme is the unpleasant one that we are tipping our way to military disaster. By a rather ingenious interpretation of history the prohibitionists show that "of the seven great nations that passed across the face of history in Bible times, at least five—Israel, Assyria, Babylon, Greece, and Rome—owed their downfall largely to drink." In the more recent past they point to France, "whose collapse in 1940 was largely due to alcoholism." Their authority for this version of the French débâcle is Marshal Pétain, whom they quote as saying, "Our men were drunk and could not fight." Some other examples of the iniquitous effect of drink, according to the prohibitionists, are Hongkong, Singapore, and Pearl Harbor. The charge that the Japanese surprise attack at Pearl Harbor was made possible by widespread drunkenness has been circulated persistently by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, and other prohibitionist groups, despite a formal refutation of it by the Roberts report. Though it isn't true, the charge is effective propaganda for the thesis that we must turn to teetotalism to vanquish totalitarianism.

The prohibitionist attack, as harassed spokesmen for the liquor industry will attest, is an awkward one to meet. Often it relies on such clever and irrefutable im-

provisations as the statement by a Shreveport, Louisiana, minister that "Hitler has forbidden his air force to destroy or bomb any distilleries on the British Isles because these distilleries are his greatest allies." It blandly attributes German military prowess to Hitler's drastic limitation of alcohol consumption, blames all industrial accidents on drunkenness, and routs opponents with the question, "Would you like your boy to ride across the Atlantic on a boat captained by a drunkard?"

Repeal Review, a publication of the liquor lobby at Washington, asserts that the current prohibition drive is inspired from Germany, and that it is a subtle effort to create disunity. The argument has a strongly partisan ring, but it has some merit. The evidence of Nazi inspiration boils down to three facts, which may or may not be highly significant. The first is that articles by one Dr. Robert Hercod, secretary of the International Temperance Union at Geneva, an organization which receives a yearly subsidy from Germany, have been appearing regularly in official publications of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League. Hercod's articles are not political but usually praise the National Socialist regime's "benevolent" attitude toward the temperance movement. The second fact, uncovered by the Boston Rumor Clinic, is that the German short-wave radio has broadcast lurid accounts of drunkenness in army camps and has urged mothers to demand prohibition for men in the services. The third fact is that many American fascists have become ardent prohibitionists. Captain Edward P. Gaston, who several years ago launched the Patriotic Guards of America for the announced purpose of establishing "a military dictatorship" in the United States, recently turned up as a director of the World Prohibition Foundation. Gerald B. Winrod's *Defender*, *America in Danger*, *Publicity*, and other pro-fascist publications, when last heard from, were on the prohibition bandwagon, and tugging the reins in their own peculiar direction. Early this year *Publicity*, which is published in Wichita, Kansas, asked its readers, "How complete is the control of Sedgewick County night life by foreign Jews and wops?"

Despite such evidence, the charge that the Nazis set off the present prohibition drive is essentially implausible. For one thing, the Anti-Saloon League and the ladies of the W. C. T. U. were quite capable of doing the job themselves, prompted by nothing more seditious than their familiar passion for regulating other people's habits. Moreover, there is no evidence to show that Nazi

influence has got beyond the periphery of the movement. The Nazis apparently have seized upon prohibition as a divisive issue, and they are trying to exploit it, but the dubious distinction of having revived the issue still belongs to the simon-pure prohibitionists.

In their strategy, as in their propaganda, the prohibitionists, who hardly believe in innovation for its own sake, are following the line which brought success in World War I. Their strategy now is the old one of the "entering wedge." Instead of urging immediate enactment of a national prohibition law, they are pressing only for a measure to ban the sale of spirits in areas surrounding army camps, and they are continuing to fight isolated local-option battles. With a growing number of male voters going into the army, their chances of swiftly extending the country's dry area through local-option elections are naturally enhanced.

Actually, our dry area now is much larger than most people suspect. The *Christian Science Monitor* recently estimated that some 23,000,000 Americans live in communities into which Demon Rum cannot legally enter. The states of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Mississippi are entirely dry, if one for a moment overlooks the bootleg industry which thrives in all three, and numerous towns and counties in other states have accepted prohibition laws of one sort or another. Of the 158 local-option elections which resulted in changes last year, 131 were won by the prohibitionists. In the first nine months of this year local-option elections turned twelve more counties dry, and the total will probably be higher when the year ends.

The present dry area, although its dimensions are imposing, is smaller than our dry area when we entered the last war. At that time twenty-three states had prohibition laws, in addition to many counties in other states. This would provide some solace to the liquor industry were it not for the fact that prohibition sentiment, as the Gallup poll shows, is rising swiftly.

The liquor industry, in addition to shaking its head ruefully over the progress of the prohibitionists, has naturally been doing everything possible to head them off. Directly or indirectly, it has backed the repeal forces in local-option elections, and it has labored heroically to impress the country with the vast benefits it confers upon the people as a whole. Most important of all, the various liquor associations and unions have been trying systematically to end those abuses which most easily incite the public against drinking. Early this month the New York Metropolitan Package Store Association called upon retailers and bar operators "to thwart the menace of prohibition" by encouraging temperance. On the same day an American Federation of Labor bartenders' union in New York pledged that its members would "not sell to persons who are intoxicated or to minors," and its president, a Jack Townsend, declared,

"It is nothing but sabotage for sailors, soldiers, and defense workers to be intoxicated." But representatives of the liquor industry doubt that this high moral tone will placate the prohibitionists, and the *Beverage Times* has told its readers, in a we-must-fight-to-the-last-ditch spirit, that "whatever contingency arises, the distilled-spirits industry must be prepared to meet it."

The contingencies may be expected to develop without much delay. Senator Josh Lee's proposed rider to the 'teen-age draft bill, which would have prohibited liquor sales in army-camp areas, was shunted to the Senate Military Committee by a vote of forty-nine to twenty-five only after what liquor lobbyists themselves described as a nip-and-tuck battle. But probably an effort now will be made to force it out. Should the Lee rider be buried, as the Senator himself was in the recent election, the prohibitionists probably will have a series of new bills ready for introduction in January, immediately after the Seventy-eighth Congress convenes. With a fairly large bloc of dries in Congress the prohibitionists will have no difficulty in getting their bills introduced.

The dry forces, led by a highly resourceful lobby, have been skilfully softening up Congress for their impending drive. Individual Congressmen have been deluged with letters and petitions from civic and church groups. Senator Bilbo said this summer that he had "received more letters of complaint on this particular subject than [letters] complaining about strikes and Congressional pensions." Obviously some sort of record. The large number of Prohibition Party candidates for Congress in the last election—twenty-six for the House and eight for the Senate—probably will inspire a sympathetic interest in prohibition among Congressmen in districts where dry sentiment is strong. Another factor that will undoubtedly influence Congress is the almost united front which church groups have now mustered for war-time liquor restrictions. In recent months more than a dozen religious bodies have either announced or reiterated their desire for war-time prohibition. The campaign by religious organizations was begun by Bishop Cushman, president of the Anti-Saloon League, and the publication of the Board of Temperance of the Methodist Church indicates that intensive action is planned both nationally and locally.

"Brethren," wrote the editor of a prohibitionist weekly this summer, "the time has come for the Christian forces of this nation to lay aside timidity, expediency, and fear of misunderstanding, and rise up in righteous wrath such as this country has never known before." Religious fervor has in the past carried to victory causes which had little to do with religion itself, and it may do equally well for prohibition. If it does, the American people will again be in a position where, as Clarence Darrow once put it, they will have "to drink their way to liberty."

The South American Trojan Horse

BY MANUEL A. SEOANE

I THINK it a mistake to underestimate the importance of the role that South America's natural resources and geographic location play in this war. I consider it a danger to forget or ignore the fact that certain of the South American governments, in spite of their avowed alignment with the United Nations, have actually a fundamental affinity with totalitarianism, and that they therefore constitute "Trojan horses" inside the democratic lines. I deem it misguided policy to forgo action, adhering to a non-intervention which aids the dictators, rather than to create some sort of legal machinery which, without impairing national sovereignties, would serve to establish democracy as the common rule in both Americas. Finally, I maintain that only genuinely democratic regimes can in the long run efficiently cooperate in the defense of the hemisphere.

I shall try to prove these contentions.

According to recently published statistics, Japanese occupation of British and Dutch possessions has lost to the United Nations 65 per cent of their tin imports, 90 per cent of their rubber, 20 per cent of their tungsten, 16 per cent of their oil, and 100 per cent of their quinine. These figures of themselves point to the importance of Latin America in supplying the needs of war production. If we examine only actual production—potential development is almost limitless—we find that the combined oil production of Venezuela, Mexico, Colombia, and Peru reached, in 1940, 268,000,000 barrels. (Argentina consumes all its own oil.) In 1941 Chile produced 405,000 tons of copper bars and nearly one million tons of nitrates. Bolivia is today the chief source of tin for the United Nations. In the valley of the Amazon and in Mexico the cultivation of rubber had already in 1940 reached 20,000 tons, and can be much extended. If we add to this vanadium, tungsten, iron, manganese, molybdenum, cotton, sugar, cereals, and meats, we have a pretty fair picture of what Latin America can do for the United Nations.

But if Latin America is vital to the war economy, its geographic location makes it an object of major military strategy. In view of the heavy fortification of the North American coasts, and after the repulses at Midway and the Aleutians, it is safe to assume that the Axis will not attempt to approach by way of any of these zones. When it wishes to attack America it is likely to strike at the points most poorly defended. Latin America is the weak frontier of the United States—and the logi-

cal place to establish a bridgehead in the New World.

One of the most vulnerable spots is the South Pacific. Chile's copper and nitrates are exported to the United States. From the Peruvian coast oil is shipped to Australia. And when one looks at Ecuador one notes its proximity to the Panama Canal. Now Ecuador is a weak country with an annual budget of \$8,000,000. Peru and Chile together own one battleship, five cruisers, ten destroyers, and thirteen submarines; their joint navies number 40,000 men, and their armies 30,000.

These facts lead to two conclusions: first, the Latin American countries must be helped to strengthen their defenses; second, it is absolutely essential that the regimes receiving help be truly anti-totalitarian in order to avoid the risk of this new strength being used as an instrument of rivalry between the various states, or in any way contrary to the purpose for which it was provided.

The first point is not within my competence to discuss. But in any case it is the second which appears to me the most fundamental. All but two of the Latin American countries have formally aligned themselves with the cause of the United Nations. However, this alignment is in many cases the fruit of convenience rather than of deep-seated anti-totalitarian sentiment. The United States is now the country that buys most of their raw materials and sells them most of their manufactured goods; it is the only one that grants them loans. It is therefore quite logical that the governments of Latin America should proclaim their sympathy with their chief benefactor.

But does this solidarity with the United States really mean solidarity with democratic ideals? And more specifically, does it mean a determined rejection of Nazi fascism? The fact is that in Latin America there are only three or four truly democratic governments, and one of these is Chile, which has not yet defined its position. In some countries there are regimes which may be considered semi-democratic; others are real dictatorships whose rulers—like Hitler—suppress civil liberties, persecute and imprison the opposition, and function without any curb by public opinion. They represent minorities who remain in power only by force, and their fundamental political interest inclines them toward the Axis. The South American dictators are in fact precursors or imitators of Hitler and Mussolini. They are the flowering of a conservative reaction that does not forget that Germany and Japan are fighting the Soviet Union. Though for the time being they are glad to buy and sell and

negotiate loans where they can, they dread a Russian victory, they fear the penetration of the Labor Party in the government of Great Britain, and they do not care for the New Deal. In their heart of hearts they hope for the victory of a political system that would legitimize their own authoritarianism.

Is it foresighted and intelligent to accept the status quo? A benighted realism that looks no farther than tomorrow will answer yes. But who can state with any certainty that tomorrow will not produce in Latin America another Hungary and Rumania, which will deliver themselves to the Axis without a fight? And in any case, to bow before the status quo is to forget that there are real anti-totalitarian forces in Latin America, ready to take up the battle for democracy.

But how act without running counter to the principle of non-intervention, which is the cornerstone of the Good Neighbor policy? Let us speak frankly. To begin with, absolute non-intervention is more a theory than a fact. Once you have recognized an illegitimate government, have granted it loans and provided it with arms, have officially entertained its chief, then, whether you like it or not, there has been intervention. And this curious, concealed intervention aids and abets a dictator, who uses such backing to further his suppression of the democratic groups in his own country.

In the second place, this so-called non-intervention facilitates real intervention by the Axis, whose financing of the fascists in all countries places them in a privileged

position with respect to the real democratic elements. This is preeminently the case in Argentina, where 80 per cent of the people are pro-Ally but are without any means of making a stand against the wealthy Axis-supported pro-totalitarian organizations.

Finally, in time of war, when the very existence of nations is at stake, abstract principles are invoked only if they do not jeopardize victory. Nobody was surprised to see the United Nations "intervene" in France against Laval's policy of capitulation. Intervention is like a knife. It stabs when handled by an aggressor; it saves when it is a surgeon who wields it. The interventions of the past were repudiated by the peoples of both Americas because they were undertaken in favor of private interests. The non-intervention of the present, born of an honest intention to cooperate, runs the risk of frustrating the development of democracy. More immediately it exposes to the danger of widespread sabotage and possible attack the resources of Latin America, now so indispensable to the Allied war effort. The combination of great natural wealth, undefended coastlines, and unreliable governments is not one which offers much security to the anti-Axis coalition.

This does not mean that positive, active intervention is necessary. The democratic elements in Latin America know that they must fight their own battle. All that the liberals ask is that the democracies of the United Nations cease to help the enemies of democracy in Latin America, and that they begin to understand the Latin



Drawing by Arias Bernal

HISPANIDAD

American liberals and regard them as their real allies.

A truly democratic program will also check the effectiveness of German propaganda, which now finds fertile soil in Latin America. The Nazis keep asking, "What kind of democracy are the United Nations fighting for? What is this democracy that accepts dictators as allies?" The psychological battle is complex and hazardous. It can never be won in Latin America without an intelligent and realistic program of political war.

Our Korean Allies

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

AFTER thirty-eight years of Japanese occupation millions of Koreans are still ready to take up arms against their oppressors. Whether they will be able to do so depends in large part on whether the United States gives them recognition, encouragement, and supplies.

At least 35,000 Koreans are already under arms in China. Several thousand of them are organized in the Korean Independent Army, which is fighting with the forces of Free China. This group includes the former Korean Volunteer Corps, which was organized by left-wing Koreans in 1938. Its size is severely limited by sheer lack of rice, guns, and ammunition. (These were presumably the Korean troops which inflicted damage upon the Japanese at Canton on September 27.) Other Koreans are fighting with the Eighth Route Army in northern China and with the guerrilla forces in Manchuria. Some 50,000 have also joined the Russian army in Siberia, according to Korean sources in Washington.

The Korean Peninsula is of immense strategic value to the Japanese, since a substantial part of Japan's war industry is located near Korea's rich mineral resources and great hydroelectric power installations. Geographically it is more of a "dagger pointing at the heart of Japan" than is eastern Siberia. It is separated from Japan's principal island—Honshu—by only a hundred miles of water. Its 23,000,000 people have long been kept in utter subjugation, but last June a force of 2,000 patriots showed enough fight to attack Japanese airports, oil depots, and dockyards in Korea. If United Nations forces land in Korea they will have the support of virtually the entire population.

In Japan itself are nearly a million Korean laborers—a sizable fifth column. More than a hundred thousand are working in war industries; many obtained their jobs by volunteering as "absentee wage-earners," workers who take the jobs of drafted men at half pay so that the remainder of the Japanese worker's wage can be given to his family in Japan. A few Koreans are in labor battalions of the Japanese army, but they are not armed—because of the high mortality rate among Japanese officers of Korean troops during the early years of the

war in China. Many Koreans in Japan have taken Japanese names and speak the Japanese language. This should make them doubly useful to us when the time comes for an invasion of Japan proper.

In spite of its strategic potentialities Korea is virtually a forgotten nation for this country. We have a long and dismal history of ignoring it. In 1882 Korea agreed to open its ports to American shipping, but only after we signed a treaty promising to give it a helping hand in case of trouble. Yet when Japanese troops occupied the country in 1904 we looked the other way; and we were still looking the other way when Japan annexed Korea in 1910. In 1919, inspired by Wilson's doctrine of self-determination for minority peoples, Korean patriots adopted a Declaration of Independence and staged nation-wide demonstrations, only to be mowed down by Japanese guns with the tacit consent of Japan's allies.

Nevertheless, the Korean provisional government, formed in 1919, has persisted in exile. Dr. Syngman Rhee, first President of the (provisional) Korean Republic, now represents that government in Washington.

Pearl Harbor brought the Koreans new hope of political support. But disillusionment soon followed. Our State Department continued to ignore Korea, and one of its officials actually voiced the belief that the country had lost its national identity. The department has steadfastly refused to recognize the Korean provisional government. It failed even to acknowledge a communication from Dr. Rhee asking whether the existence of the United States-Korean treaty of 1882 (which has never been denounced) might at least be noted, now that America has somewhat belatedly followed Korea in warring against the Japanese. The Korean provisional government was refused the privilege of signing the United Nations pact. When the Office of War Information wanted to put Dr. Rhee on the air early this year to speak to Koreans abroad in their own language, the State Department delayed the project for five months by withholding permission. The only signs of friendliness that have been given by our government were one sympathetic reference to Korea by President Roosevelt in a speech early this year and the fact that Koreans are not required to register as enemy aliens.

Chungking, in helping to finance the Korean Independent Army, has given the provisional government what amounts to de facto recognition. But when Chinese representatives in Washington proposed to initiate more formal relations with the provisional government, our State Department, presumably after consulting with Britain and Russia, advised them that we could not join in such a move. China has made no further overtures.

Recognition of Korea as a nation, which would imply its independence after Japan's defeat, would make a tremendous political and psychological impression not only on the Koreans but on all of Asia.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

FEW Americans have ever heard of a prominent fellow-citizen named Kaufmann or know that he is one of President Roosevelt's most intimate friends and advisers. In Germany every child has known of him for a long time. Germans are so well informed about Mr. Kaufmann that the mere mention of his name recalls what he stands for. In one of his recent articles Dr. Goebbels wrote, "Thanks to the Jew Kaufmann, we Germans know only too well what to expect in case of defeat." He did not have to amplify this. He reminded his public of something that he was sure was engraved on their memories.

Three years ago an American named Kaufmann, an obscure business man, wrote a pamphlet called "Germany Must Perish." In it he described in great detail what should be done to Germans after the war. Through a little operation, not a very painful one, they must all be sterilized, made into eunuchs. Only by such action, he said, could the world make sure that Germany would perish and the other nations be left in peace.

Mr. Kaufmann's idea was still-born in America—but not in Germany. In 1940 Goebbels received a copy of his book, and welcomed it as a gift from heaven. Here at last was documentary proof of the fate in store for Germany if it should lose the war. The government had the book translated, printed an enormous edition of it, and pumped it into every German household. Everyone who applied for a food-rationing card received at the same time, pressed into his hand free, a copy of "Germany Must Perish."

All that is now an old story. But it has recently had a sequel which will revive and reinforce it.

The writer of this column confesses that he is not among those who favor easy peace terms for Germany. Moreover, he believes that an overwhelming proportion of Germans would regard a severe peace as normal and understandable, and that there is little prospect of arousing better expectations in them. The situation is bad enough as it is. Must it be made more difficult by fantastic proposals with no basis in reality?

The question is asked because Mr. Kaufmann has had a successor—and one of much greater weight. In the introduction to his anthology "Men at War" Ernest Hemingway again suggests that after the war all Germans should be sterilized. One can easily foresee what stimulation Goebbels will derive in coming weeks from this un hoped for bit of manna. For Hemingway happens to be extremely popular in Germany. Since the appearance of his "Farewell to Arms" he has been regarded as one of the most enlightened spirits in the United States. One can imagine how Goebbels will build that up:

War Americana

Notice in the bathroom of a Missouri hotel: "Remember Pearl Harbor and spare the towels."

I told a Missouri audience that after the war we would have to practice more internationalism and eliminate our high tariffs. A lady asked, "What will we do with our patriotism if we lower the tariff?"

I asked a superintendent of schools in a Pennsylvania county seat how people felt about the war. He said they want a second front. A workingman in Orrville, Ohio, told me, on his own initiative, that the Russians had saved us. I heard the same sentiment expressed by the taxi driver who took me from Orrville to Canton. He was an old fellow, a Mark Hanna Republican named Bricker. "No relation of the Governor," he assured me.

At every meeting I address, someone asks when this war will end. After a lecture at a state teachers' convention in Nebraska, forty-three written questions were sent up to the platform. Five asked when the war would end. My usual reply is, "The war will end on October 17, 1943, at 4:30 p. m., just in time for cocktails."

October 31, Chicago: My Irish taxi driver says he will vote for Senator Brooks. He is very vehement. "We shouldn't have gone to war, anyway," he says. "Pearl Harbor was our fault. Why did we send the scrap to Japan? They're murdering our boys in the Solomons, and we ship thousands of men to England just to sit around and drink beer."

LOUIS FISCHER

"Now you see what plans for you are being cooked up by the most intelligent elements in America."

Probably Mr. Hemingway did not mean to have his proposal taken literally. He cannot possibly have believed that it could be carried out. If anything is certain, it is that the United Nations will never sterilize any people. Not to mention the many humanitarian and political considerations that would forbid it, there is the Catholic church, which is known to condemn sterilization, always and irrespective of motives, as a deadly sin. Five minutes' reflection is enough to show one that the idea is absolutely impracticable. It was quite unnecessary therefore to make Herr Goebbels a present that would prove so profitable to him. We have no means of preventing him from twisting to his own purposes the serious suggestions—good and bad—which are published here. But by loose talk about preposterous proposals we make it much too easy for him to whip up the spirit of his people.

Spain and North Africa

ON NOVEMBER 8 President Roosevelt addressed a letter to General Franco, the Spanish dictator, announcing that American forces had landed in French possessions in North Africa "with the sole purpose of preventing occupation by Germany and Italy." The concluding sentences of the letter read:

I hope you will accept my full assurance that these moves are in no shape, manner, or form directed against the government or people of Spain or Spanish territory, metropolitan or overseas.

I believe that the Spanish government and the Spanish people wish to maintain neutrality and to remain outside the war. Spain has nothing to fear from the United Nations.

The President may well be right in believing that Spain would like to maintain its present shadowy neutrality. The more pertinent questions, however, are, first, whether Hitler can afford to permit it to do so; and, second, whether Franco can oblige the President by resisting if Hitler decides to take over strategic points in Spain, the Spanish islands, and Spanish Morocco.

Even before Franco came to power it was well understood that the outcome of the Spanish war would profoundly influence the future of the Mediterranean and of Europe as a whole. A cursory examination of the geography of Spain makes this easy to understand. Let us look first at the Balearic Islands, object of innumerable struggles from the days of the Phoenicians to those of the fascists. An able writer on the Mediterranean, Margaret Boveri, discussing the relations between the powers since 1918, says of these strategic bits of land:

One thing remains constant, and that is that facing the French island of Corsica and the Italian island of Sardinia is the neutral group of the Balearic Islands, just where the most important French and British sea routes and an important Italian sea route cross. Hence the struggle to tinge Spanish neutrality with one shade or another, and the tremendous anxiety with which the development of the civil war is being followed in London, Paris, and Rome.

Apparently, however, the anxiety in London and Paris was not great enough to induce those governments to end the intervention in Spain which had resulted in the early establishment of an Italian regime in Majorca.

Another interesting reference to the strategic value of these Spanish islands occurred in a lecture delivered by General Ettore Grasetti in 1938 in a military course given at Milan University. Said the Italian General:

The western coasts of Sardinia and Sicily constitute, with the Balearic Islands, a system that, once under our control, will neutralize the British artery of Gibraltar-

Malta. Thus with Italian influence in Palma de Majorca and German influence in Melilla and Ceuta, the Rome-Berlin Axis extends to the western Mediterranean (Majorca-Cagliari-Trapani), can sever the great British artery at its western source in Gibraltar, and can wield decisive influence in an easterly direction toward the island of Pantelleria. As far as France is concerned, the Italian Balearic-Sardinia line will cut the French lines between Marseilles, Casablanca, and Oran in the west, between Algiers and Philippeville in the center, and between Tunis and Suez in the east. In short, the whole French arterial system between the home country and French North Africa, the basis of French general mobilization, can be severed.

How directly these words bear upon the problem of an invasion of the Continent from North Africa is obvious.

The strategic importance of Spanish Morocco and Tangier is second only to that of the Balearics since these territories face—and threaten—Gibraltar. Could Gibraltar be defended if Spain should join, or be used by, the Axis powers? In the German "Naval Annual" of 1938 Admiral Gadow discussed this question.

The air arm gives a negative reply. Long-distance batteries would consign the fortress and its fleet to a terrible fate. On the other side of the strait, and facing Gibraltar, is the Spanish base of Ceuta, with powerful fortifications which can be made even more powerful. Would a Nationalist Spain, emancipated and conscious of her own destiny, decide to revive the old claim for a Spanish Gibraltar? Would she make use of the privileged position of those sentinels of the strait, Cartagena and Cadiz, and so jeopardize the two-hundred-year-old British policy built on the strategy of naval bases?

In the present situation the ports of Spain, particularly those of southern Spain and Spanish Morocco, also demand attention. Cadiz, Arzila, and Larache, all offer points from which offensive action could be taken against shipping and against French African ports on the Atlantic, now under American attack. It is also to be noted that the roads and the railway from Oran which join those Atlantic ports to Algiers and Tunis pass, for a distance of nearly 250 miles, close to the Spanish Moroccan border; so that in addition to the dangers threatening the Allied sea routes there is also a chance of attack by land.

If the American forces with the support of British naval units make good their advances into French Africa, they will surround the area controlled by Spain. But unless they are able to prevent the use of that territory, particularly the fortified port of Ceuta, by Germany, their situation will remain precarious. And if Hitler takes possession of Spain's southern Atlantic and Mediterranean ports, or establishes a base in the Balearics, the dangers facing an Allied invasion of the Continent will be multiplied.

Ersatz Life in France

[The following extract is from a letter received by a reader of The Nation. For obvious reasons the name of the writer and his location cannot be revealed.]

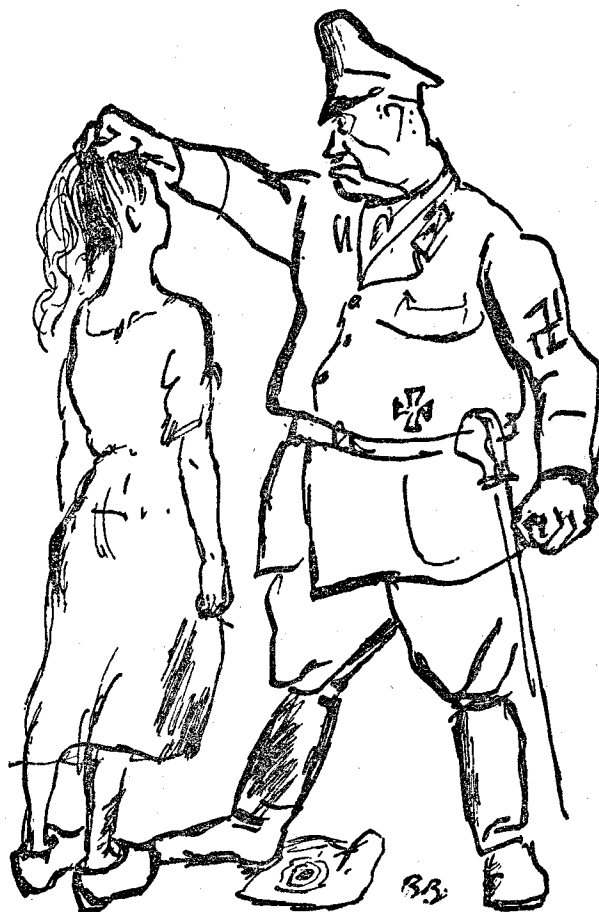
IT WILL soon be three years since I have sent any news of myself. You must have thought me dead. The last letter I received from you was sent by Atlantic Clipper, on one of the first crossings. The speed of modern transportation—it reached me four or five months later, in the little Alsatian village where my regiment was billeted for the winter during the demoralizing idleness of that *guerre pourrie* which followed the *guerre blanche*! I wanted to write to you then, but all the intellectual activity I could muster in that stupefying period was used in recopying and polishing the manuscript of my history, which I had begun to prepare, with fine appropriateness, on the fifteenth of August, 1939. On the ninth of May, 1940, I put the final period to the third section. On the tenth, as you know, the real war began for us. It took me from Alsace to the Somme. We experienced the terrible shock of June 5. On June 10 we were the last soldiers to see, receding in the distance behind us, the Eiffel Tower, where for a few hours longer the tricolor still floated. In July I found myself demobilized, in an old blue linen suit, with two shirts and a toothbrush, without money or friends, but holding on to the manuscript of my history, which had filled the kit bag on which for two months I had been sleeping. I was free and in what we call the free zone. I had the luck to find here a small office job, and here I live, waiting.

Your friend Henri did not have my good luck. He was at Metz and was made prisoner in the Vosges with the troops that had evacuated the Maginot Line. He has been in Germany two years now. He has done everything, twenty-three jobs in all—hotel porter, workman, plowman, and so on. He escaped twice and was twice recaptured. At the moment he is crushing stone. He has shaved his head, and his comrades call him "Gandhi," which makes me think he must be very thin. In spite of everything he has gone through, he maintains a staggering morale.

Whether I shall ever be able to finish and perfect my history I have no idea, so great, in present circumstances, is the uncertainty of tomorrow. Every day I am astounded that the day before was at least for me relatively peaceful and relatively free. To go on, as I am doing, with a long historical work is a gamble. It is doubtful, moreover, whether I shall ever be able to publish the fruit of my labor, since the paper crisis is total.

What shall I tell you further of the life we all lead?

People outside are apt to picture it in a way that does not at all correspond to reality. Recall, for example, the restrictions which for several years before the war existed in Central Europe. The French, who then lived in liberty and plenty, imagined that such a life must be terrible, and not only for intellectuals but for the man in the street as well. That is not at all the way you must visualize it. Obviously it isn't at all amusing to spend two hours in a queue waiting to buy cherries and then not be able to buy cherries, especially on a day when there is nothing else for sale at the market. But life does not stop because of this; famine does not slay you and all those around you. In spite of everything, life goes on, with whatever it carries of passion and hope, and work goes on as well. And with some good humor you can even find amusing things in this *Ersatz* life. It is funny, you must admit, to see in a showcase a roll of straw braid, the sort of braid which modistes used to make hats of, and underneath it the notice, "Make your shoes yourself." Again, you have to laugh when you hear that a Horsemen's Association in Limousin has sent this appeal to the Vichy government: "In view of the fact that the future belongs to the horse, and that the horse suffers from asphalted roads, we demand the immediate de-asphalting of the roads." However, it may be foolish to laugh, for the automobile, even with gazogene, becomes each day more legendary.



Drawing by Boardman Robinson

The life we lead, you see, has in certain aspects a distinct resemblance to "Duck Soup," which we still see in the movie theaters, together with—which is not less astounding—"Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." It is very much a day-to-day life. Shoes with holes in them, patched shirts hold an important place in it. And so do dried beans. Often I say to myself, if I can get, with ticket DZ, 250 grams of dried beans I shall be able next Sunday to write the next chapter. For it is a fact, which I had not before experimentally proved, that intellectual work requires a certain amount of dried vegetables—we won't speak of fats or meat; without them it is accomplished with great difficulty and small success. Nevertheless, don't feel sorry for us, and don't, above all, feel sorry for me, since I for one have a very bearable, even comfortable life. I saw two years ago that you can be relatively comfortable during a barrage if you are flat on your belly in a field or under the illusory shelter of a tree while your neighbor in his haste has lain down with his face in a clump of nettles or in a ditch full of water. Moreover, after your first friend has been killed, you are less shocked by the death of the second, and, with more reason, still less shocked by the death of the tenth, whatever anyone may say. How many will be left when the rolling fire of the barrage has stopped? The spirit of the harsh weeks of 1940 is still with us in 1942.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

A Threat to Labor Morale

IN CERTAIN restricted but influential circles abolition of the forty-hour week is being heavily plugged as a panacea for the man-power problem. The first loud voice in its favor was that of Senator Reynolds of North Carolina, who said that the standard work week should be boosted to fifty-seven hours with elimination of extra pay for overtime. "I say fifty-seven hours," he added, because Great Britain is working fifty-seven, Germany is working sixty, and Japan seventy."

Anyone reading this statement might be forgiven for the deduction that the British standard work week is fifty-seven hours. And, indeed, Senator Reynolds, who is an ignorant fellow, may well believe this to be a fact. But the same excuse can hardly be offered for the *New York Times*, which, after editorially advocating a standard forty-eight-hour week, continued: "The average work week in England is now fifty-six hours. Our own average work week in factories is still less than forty-three hours. Before we resort to compulsory labor we should remove the present artificial scarcity of labor

brought about by legal or union restriction of hours."

There is nothing absolutely inaccurate about this passage, but it is misleading since there is no hint to the reader that the average English work week actually includes from eight to nine hours of overtime.

The facts are that while the hours of labor of adult men are not limited by law in Britain, they are restricted in practically all industries by agreements between trade unions and employers' associations. The normal work week is forty-seven to forty-eight hours, with overtime paid at one and one-quarter to one and one-half times the standard rate and double time on Sundays. Moreover, under the war-time Essential Work Order which freezes men in war factories to their jobs, workers in essential undertakings are guaranteed as a minimum the "normal" weekly wage in that industry. This affords them protection, not enjoyed by American workers, against being forced to go on short time owing to non-arrival of materials, machinery breakdowns, or other causes beyond their control.

Before the war most British trade unions placed some restrictions on the amount of overtime that might be worked, but during the Dunkirk crisis they agreed to suspend these provisions. A report on the consequences made by the Parliamentary Select Committee on National Expenditure, a body with a conservative majority, is worth quoting at some length:

Where the normal working week had been fifty or fifty-five hours it was commonly increased to sixty-five or in some cases to seventy-two hours a week. The immediate effect of this and of the national appeal for the greatest effort was a remarkable increase in output. Quite obviously, however, such an effort could not be maintained for any length of time. Output began to decline rapidly at the end of a few weeks and at the end of about two months fell to a little above and sometimes lower than that which was obtained before the increase of the length of the working week. Some establishments realized the situation and reduced hours at once; others were slower in doing so. At the present time [August, 1941] although hours have been generally reduced, there are establishments where a normal working week above sixty hours is still in force.

What a contrast between this cool and informed appraisal of the hours question and Senator O'Daniel's demand for a standard seventy-two-hour week!

In July, 1940, the British Ministry of Labor recommended an immediate reduction in hours to sixty a week, with the ultimate aim of bringing them down to fifty-five or fifty-six. At the present time the average is probably around the last figure. A great many plants in Britain while working all round the clock for six days a week have found that the most satisfactory results are obtained by not attempting to operate on Sundays except in the case of special rush jobs and for purposes of main-

tenance and repair. Both the health and the productivity of the workers have, in most cases, been improved by the provision of a regular day of rest. Moreover, vacations are regarded as essential to health. It was not possible to arrange for them during the stresses of 1940, but in 1941 and 1942 the government urged workers to take the week's vacation with pay which was general in Britain before the war.

Once again it must be emphasized that in Britain all hours worked above the standard week are paid for at the additional rate; so that the average worker is receiving extra pay every week for eight or nine hours overtime. The average American worker, on the other hand, is working less than three hours overtime, which suggests that the American employer is much less willing to pay a premium rate than his British counterpart. Primarily, hours of labor are being restricted by profit considerations.

For there is no reason to suppose that American workers in war plants would not put in longer hours if they got the chance. The November issue of *Fortune*, in an article entitled What's Itching Labor, quotes an Illinois-Carnegie steel worker as exploding: "Hell, I'd like nothing better than more production. So what am I doing? I work five days a week. They won't let me work more." Other men in the steel mills interviewed by *Fortune* expressed similar views, but they all said "no" when asked if they were willing to work extra hours without overtime rates of pay. Some of them, however, qualified this by stating they would agree if the additional profits that resulted were extracted and if executive salaries were restricted. While Mr. Grace enjoys a bonus that expands in proportion to Bethlehem's profits, they do not see why they should forgo incentive pay for extra efforts.

If the reactionary press gets its way and the new Congress, feeling its Republican oats after the election, carries out proposals to repeal the forty-hour law and abrogate union contracts providing for overtime pay, we can expect a sharp decline in labor morale, unless at the same time commensurate restrictions are placed on profits. For men who have been earning regular overtime pay, action of this sort would mean an actual slimming of the pay envelope, and for their employers it would mean so much gravy.

Nevertheless, if it can be proved that the wage-and-hour law is a hindrance to production, its suspension for the duration can be justified. But in this case other private rights protected by legislation, which are proving an obstacle to the war effort, should be treated in the same manner. If workers are to suffer pay cuts by acts of Congress, why should not holders of tax-exempt bonds forfeit their privileged position? If contracts between unions and employers are to be canceled by Congress, why should not this set a precedent for the legal abolition of patent-license agreements, which certainly add to

the cost of production? Class legislation, hitting only at labor's privileges, must intensify to a dangerous degree the workers' suspicion that the war is being used as a battering ram against their hard-won standards—a suspicion already aroused by the constant nagging to which they are being subjected in so much of the press.

In the Wind

AMERICAN LEGION leaders in Massachusetts have taken it upon themselves to investigate alleged violations of the Selective Service laws in that state. Commander William F. Campbell, chairman of the investigating committee, asserts that "draft-dodging has become so flagrant that large numbers of a certain racial group are coming from New York to this section, where they are getting defense jobs and keeping out of the draft." A group of Boston liberals is urging an investigation of the Legion.

NO LONGER able to pursue its normal business, the Singer Sewing Machine Company has developed and is now manufacturing a machine for suturing wounds.

WORLD GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION, an organization with an ambitious program for international amity, recently invited its followers and friends to a meeting which featured "Contract Bridge, a Concert of Yugoslavian Music, and a Conference on World Government led by Clark M. Eichelberger." Chief Rising Sun of the Cherokee Nation will call the meeting to order.

THE BROOKLYN TABLET, unofficial heir to *Social Justice*, predicts that children from fourteen to sixteen years old will soon be drafted for war work and that their mothers will then be sent into the front-line trenches.

A REPORT of a speech by an S. S. leader in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* shows one way in which Nazi leaders are explaining Hitler's difficulties to the German people. "The effects," the speaker is reported to have said, "of the many centuries during which German blood has been absorbed by foreign peoples became particularly noticeable in the fight against Germanism, for the German blood has given the foreign races a belligerent spirit of resistance."

THE BOOTLEGGING INDUSTRY, which has flourished despite repeal, now faces a new crisis. Sugar rationing has cut down production and forced many stills out of business.

FROM THE ROME RADIO: "Chiang Kai-shek has been received into the Jewish faith. The chief rabbi of Shanghai made a special trip by monoplane to officiate at the ceremony."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

THERE has never been anyone quite like James Thurber: yet I suspect the reason his particular kind of madness, at its best, is so acceptable and satisfying is that it is an authentic species of the genus of humor Americans have always demanded and created.

Here is the essential and ingratiating innocence; the tall tale and the knack of leading the reader into the domain of fantasy and the fabulous by "a bright trail of fact [which] fixes the attention . . . and seems natural"; the overturning of old values; the poetic sense of life; the monologue and the constant use of "I," which is a mask, "simply and blankly worn," for expression that rises out of submerged emotion and self-scrutiny but seldom if ever "brims over into self-revelation."

The mask was a portable heirloom handed down by the pioneer. In a primitive world crowded with pitfalls the unchanging, unaverted countenance had been a safeguard, preventing revelations of surprise, anger, or dismay. The mask had otherwise become habitual among the older Puritans as their more expressive or risible feelings were sunk beneath the surface. . . . No doubt the mask would prove useful in a country where the Puritan was still a power and the risks of pioneering by no means over. The Yankee retained it.

The American humorist has retained "the unchanging, unaverted countenance." So has the hard-boiled "deadpan" novelist, almost *ad nauseam*.

I pause for identification of the source of the quotations and, indeed, of the whole paragraph. It is "American Humor" by Constance Rourke.

Mr. Thurber's present collection, "My World—and Welcome to It" (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.50), is uneven in quality. What Do You Mean It Was Brillig?, The Macbeth Murder Mystery, and the Secret Life of Walter Mitty seem to me the best items, and they are excellent. I also like The Letters of James Thurber and A Good Man. You Could Look It Up is interesting for what it attempts to do; but here the balloon of fantasy does not quite get off the ground.

Part Two of the book is mainly made up of six "straight" pieces—well, more or less straight—about pre-Vichy France. They are amusing; they have a touch of the innocent abroad; they are also moving, but largely, I think, because the reader's affection for France and the fact of France's fall make them so.

Thurber's drawings, of subjects human and inhuman, provide a happy ending to almost every piece. They too are innocent, ingratiating, and fabulous—though I recently had a Thurberesque experience which suggests that his drawings may after all have some connection with reality. A few Sundays ago when I opened the door to pick up the *Times* a large Dalmatian hound walked in. I had never seen him before; I haven't seen him since. Perhaps there really was a seal in Thurber's bedroom.

THE FALL NUMBER of the *Antioch Review* contains an article on the North American Negro by Luis Alberto Sanchez y Sanchez, the exiled Peruvian writer who was one of the contributors to *The Nation's* series on Hispano-American literature. Mr. Sanchez does not give us new facts about our treatment of Negroes. What he does do, and what makes the piece so fresh, is to show us, in a South American mirror unclouded by the associations that even the unprejudiced among us cannot escape, how cruel and stupid that treatment is. The article is part of a book Mr. Sanchez is writing about the United States for publication and distribution in South America. I hope it will be published here.

I HAVE BEEN meaning for some time to protest against a statement which appeared on the editorial page of the *New York Times* at the time of the death of Alice Duer Miller, who wrote "The White Cliffs of Dover." The *Times* labeled that work "doubtfully imperishable"—which reminds one of that equally recessive line, "Scarce dare we hope oak galls, I doubt." The editorial went on to say that "Mrs. Miller's other works . . . have added to the enjoyment of countless men and women of all ages even if, as literature, they were *too light and gay to become what we ponderously call classic*."

THE TALE which follows is said to be true. Not long ago a new house officer at one of the hospitals of the Medical Center was making the rounds. When he called on one elderly gentleman he made conversation by asking what the patient thought of the Center. The elderly gentleman expressed his admiration and then added, "I organized it." The house officer was startled but went calmly on.

"Do you know any of the people here? Dr. —?" He named several eminent physicians. Each time the patient answered that he did, and wound up by saying casually, "I appointed them."

The house officer took his leave, shaking his head over the things old gentlemen can imagine. It was only when he began telling the funny story to his colleagues that he learned that the patient was Nicholas Murray Butler.

THE WORD "progressive" is one of the hardest-worked in the language. So it is no wonder, I suppose, that a progressive publisher is about to issue a book by a progressive author entitled "The Complete Book of Progressive Knitting." Its primary object is to "raise knitting from a grandmother's pastime to an accomplished art."

FOR PUNSTERS ONLY: According to a dispatch from Ottawa, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada has revealed that during the two years he was being sought by police he was hiding out in northern Ontario. The heading read "Tim Buck Reveals Hideout." I'll print the four-line verse that makes the best punning use of that provocative line.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Three Views of Russia

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Longmans, Green and Company. \$1.50.

DUEL FOR EUROPE. By John Scott. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.50.

WE'RE IN THIS WITH RUSSIA. By Wallace Carroll. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.

SKIPPING an unfortunate preface by G. B. Shaw and going straight to the grain: the Webbs seek to improve relations with the Soviets by declaring that Stalin is not a dictator and that, except for transitional blemishes, the U. S. S. R. is already a full-fledged and multiform industrial democracy. To make their points they just quote extensively from the 1936 constitution. The result is necessarily a purely abstract treatment, of which the following is quite typical.

So far as Stalin is related to the constitution of the U. S. S. R. . . . he is the duly elected representative of one of the Moscow constituencies to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. By this assembly he has been selected as one of the thirty members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., accountable to the representative assembly for all its activities. It is this Presidium which selects the Council of Commissars (*Sovnarkom*) and, during the intervals between the meetings of the Supreme Soviet, controls the policy of the *Sovnarkom*. . . . In May, 1941, Stalin, hitherto content to be a member of the Presidium . . . took over, with the consent of the Presidium, the office of Prime Minister . . . in exactly the same way . . . that Winston Churchill, with the consent of the House of Commons, became Prime Minister. . . .

Of the Soviet Prime Minister's relations with the Communist Party the Webbs offer this explanation:

[Stalin] has persistently asserted in his writings and speeches that . . . so far as the Communist Party is concerned he acts as general secretary under the orders of the executive. He has, in fact, frequently pointed out that he does no more than carry out the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

But the Webbs have a second and more realistic line of argument. Recognizing that one feature of the Soviet democracy is "the idolization of one individual as an infallible leader who must be revered and obeyed and not criticized," they explain Stalin's accession thus: After Lenin's death it was agreed "that some new personality had to be produced. Among the leaders of the Communist Party there ensued a tacit understanding that Stalin should be boosted as the supreme leader." The Pickwickian sense given to the words "ensued" and "tacit" may cause some discomfort, which is not lessened when one reads that the supreme-leader idea is after all inconsistent with Marxism, but that the facts "suggest" that in Russia's backward condition there was "no alternative to the one-party system with its refusal to permit organized political opposition to the new political and economic order." The latter suggestion may be true, but it hardly jibes with previous arguments. It is a pity, for the original abstraction and the consequent contradictions obscure the fact that the Soviet economy, which this reviewer believes to be the most important single thing a socialist has to defend in this war, is socialist in its basic structure.

Two very different books remain. In his former volume,

"Behind the Urals," Mr. Scott established himself as an authority. In it he movingly described his experiences as a worker at Magnitogorsk. Unlike the Webbs, Mr. Scott was a tiny but living cell in the vast organism of Soviet life. His book, poorly written as it was, was one of the most powerful influences this writer has experienced this year. Mr. Scott, admitting his pain and horror at certain features of Russian life, shrinking at what, for a Westerner, proved to be an intolerable burden, nevertheless declared his profound belief that the Soviet Union was filled with a great sense of good purpose and that its achievements were real and substantial. In short, Mr. Scott confirmed one's belief that if in the post-war period there is a desperately necessary influx of the blood of socialist democracy into the Soviet system, then in the U. S. S. R. we shall see something that will be worth all the cost of war and revolution.

Mr. Scott, then, respects the Soviet Union and has no need of special pleading. In the present book, the central thesis of which is indicated by the title, he examines Soviet relations with the Third Reich and describes Stalin's efforts to postpone and prepare for the inevitable shock. Upon matters of Russian foreign policy he has little to add that is new, though the simplicity of his formulation, "a duel for Europe," enables him to ignore distracting unessentials. But Mr. Scott has several great advantages. He is no mere correspondent. He knew the language and had many well-informed and confiding friends, and he was present in the U. S. S. R. until the outbreak of the Russo-German campaign. He can therefore credibly report the temper of the people. There are some surprises in his book. The first Russo-Finnish war, he says, was extremely unpopular in Russia and was the cause of a serious lowering of industrial morale, which led to a decline in production. But while the Red Army was unwelcome in Finland, the contrary was the case in Poland. The whole bearing and mental tone of Soviet soldiers returning on leave from Poland was proof that they had passed through an exciting experience of welcome.

But it is in his account of the U. S. S. R.'s preparation for war that Mr. Scott excels. Stalin did not for one moment place any trust in the pact. When the Finnish war had usefully disclosed certain weaknesses, a tremendous industrial and military drive was begun—involving, Mr. Scott says, hundreds of thousands of "casualties." Production in the spring of 1940 was low, but the measures taken sufficed to correct that state of affairs. The laws regarding lateness and absence were enforced with the drastic penalties of imprisonment and confiscation of wages. Much was accomplished by a virtual draft of labor, as in Britain, combined with the lengthening of the working day from seven to eight hours, plus overtime. (British and Russian workers now put in about equal hours of work.) Factory discipline was sternly enforced, and disobedience and slovenliness in work became crimes. A million youths were conscripted into semi-militarized industrial schools. Prices of certain goods were raised to lower consumption, while free higher education was abolished. In the army the promulgation of a new disciplinary code was accompanied by drastic reorganization. Special and successful efforts were made to improve equipment supplies, which had been insufficient to fit out a vast mass of reserves. In this account, I believe, Mr. Scott has

been a little too content to recite the external facts. A greater emphasis should have been placed on the advantages of the Soviet type of economy. It is a question of degree, of course, for Mr. Scott does attribute some of the success of that preparedness campaign to facilities which Mr. Carroll, in "We're in This with Russia," describes as follows:

In the Soviet Union, where private property has been abolished, the government was not hindered by private rights. . . . It did not have to plead with the motor industry to stop the manufacture of automobiles and start the production of tanks. It did not have to waste public funds on "cost plus 10 per cent" contracts which encouraged manufacturers to slow down production, keep labor idle, and increase costs in order to increase profits. And it did not have to plead with labor unions to waive the forty-hour week and extra pay for overtime.

Upon one important point Mr. Carroll here misinforms us. The Soviet government did not have to plead with the Russian unions, but Russian workers do receive time and a half pay for overtime above a forty-eight-hour week. And I think he might have remembered that if the American automobile workers' union had had its way, production would be much farther along than it is.

"We're in This with Russia" is a typical correspondent's book, well and warmly written, sympathetic and liberal in attitude. If it adds nothing to what Messrs. Caldwell, Ingersoll, and Werth have told us, that is perhaps not Mr. Carroll's fault. He reports with sobriety, except for an occasional excess: in distributing arms to the people the Soviet government certainly showed that it was confident the people would make good use of them, and Sevastopol proved that trust was justified; Mr. Carroll, who has seen the British Home Guard, comments thus, "No other government, even in this total war, had dared to put such confidence in its people." But there are few such blemishes, and if, despite the good liberal sense of its final chapters, I do not urgently recommend this book it is solely because it contains little fresh information. Skip the Webbs, buy the Scott, and reserve the Carroll at the library.

RALPH BATES

Anti-Nazi Thriller

HOSTAGES. By Stefan Heym. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

STEFAN HEYM'S novel about the Nazis in Czechoslovakia will set your hair on end. No doubt a faithful record of what it is like to live under the Nazi terror, it piles horror upon horror in nearly unbearable quantity and photographic detail—torture, rape, all the excruciating paraphernalia of Nazi sadism. You get the impression that Mr. Heym hates violence almost too much, he is so fascinated by it. But neither his sincere passion against Nazism nor the emotions which his readers will bring to his subject can raise his book to the place claimed for it in the ranks of serious anti-fascist literature. It takes more than a serious audience to make a serious novel. For the most part "Hostages" is only a grand-scale thriller. This is not to ignore the difference between the fear we feel as we contemplate a whole nation of murderers and the fear we feel as we contemplate the individual acts of terror of an ordinary thriller; but it is also not to confuse the emotions an



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author plays on in his readers with the emotions he himself creates. When you have finished "Hostages" and your equanimity is restored, you have the cheated sense of having yourself written the best part of the book. What Mr. Heym has contributed is shabby, sterile, sentimental.

A group of people are in a Prague cafe on an afternoon when a Nazi officer disappears from the cellar. The Gestapo knows the officer is a suicide but prefers to act as if he were murdered; all the people in the cafe are held as hostages for the non-existent murderer, among them a group of five men who are placed in one cell—an industrialist, an actor, a journalist, a psychoanalyst, and a janitor. It is with these five, their lives before their arrest and their conduct as they await death, that the novel chiefly deals; the janitor, a member of the underground, has comrades outside of jail who provide the free-moving action of the story. Here, obviously, is material for any kind of novel. Using the microcosmic device, Thomas Mann wrote "The Magic Mountain," and Vicki Baum wrote "Grand Hotel." Mr. Heym's novel, when it is not a thriller, is an anti-Nazi "Grand Hotel." His psychoanalyst woos immortality by taking notes on the reactions of his cell-mates; the actor gives himself a big scene by trying to confess to the uncommitted murder; the pitiless industrialist is unpitifully shown up in all his cowardice. Mr. Heym's characters, compounded of all the elements other novelists have taught him to look for, may simulate reality but they are only contrivances.

Perhaps it is always the fault of meretricious fiction that it likes to deal with the biggest subjects: *kitsch* walks in where fine intelligences may fear to tread. In common with so many modern novelists, Mr. Heym is much concerned with death and with the problem of how we must live in order to know how to die; and like so many modern novelists, he solves his problems politically. Only Janoshik, Mr. Heym's philosophizing janitor, can meet death courageously, for of the five victims he alone has lived with a sense of his continuity in freedom; in so far as his companions learn his "truth" in their few days of association with him, they too are able to face death bravely. Well, it is Mr. Heym's novel to do with as he likes; he had only to demonstrate his thesis instead of stacking the cards for it. But it seems that death, like other important subjects, defies the novelist with a political ax to grind, no matter how great the cause in which he sharpens his weapons.

DIANA TRILLING

Business in American Life

THE AGE OF ENTERPRISE. By Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

EARLY in this "social history of industrial America" Professors Cochran and Miller assert that "[we] have not been a people essentially political, literary, metaphysical, or religious. Our habits and folkways have not been formed only by voting, reading, logic-chopping, or prayer. Our manners are not simply those of conventions, lyceums, schools, or churches. We have been primarily a business people, and business has been most important in our lives." There cannot be the shadow of doubt that business has been

something very special in our national life. Emerson noticed it as far back as 1834. Henry Demarest Lloyd, in "Wealth Against Commonwealth" (1894), complained that we were averse to examining what was the greatest force in our personal and social lives. Professors Cochran and Miller are anything but shy in their examination: they relate exceedingly well what forces combined to make this a business country, and what business did to the people in it.

There is little essentially new in "The Age of Enterprise," and the authors emphasize that their purpose has been "simply to make the non-professional reader acquainted with what we believe to be at once the most useful and most easily available books and magazines which bear upon our subject." Considering our general unwillingness to talk business when discussing our civilization, this is something in the nature of a public service. The reader does get the story, and he is bound to realize from it that industry has not been merely a fact in American life but one of its major factors.

At the same time the authors' enthusiasm for their subject has, I think, made them a little extreme in their view. How "primarily" have we been a business people? There is Gilbert Seldes's "Stammering Century"—a similar case could be made out for religion. There is Louis Adamic's Common Council for American Unity—American history could certainly be interpreted in terms of Plymouth Rock to Ellis Island. The persistent problem—and this Professors Cochran and Miller have not fully resolved—is precisely how much of a factor business has been or can be at any given time. Business may be the heart of the nation, as Charles Edward Russell once wrote, but it isn't its blood, bones, and brains. Suppose one has read "The Age of Enterprise." Suppose one has seen the effect of transportation and the frontier on industrial America, and studied the rampant individualism which it encouraged; watched the political triumph of industrialists, the "Gilded Age," the rise of the labor movement and farm bloc, the Progressive era. Suppose one has sampled the art, ethics, philosophy, and social standards which accompanied these changes. One comes to the era of world finance, super-efficiency, high-pressure salesmanship—and what then? Professors Cochran and Miller see hope in the fact that the New Deal finally took our individualist bull by the horns and made it walk with something approximating social consciousness. But war has now taken over, and the future of American business, if it is to be seen aright, will have to be read with particular care out of the past.

Professors Cochran and Miller grant willingly that there is plenty of work yet to be done in their subject. Here is one suggestion. The Progressive movement, they say, was composed of "fringes" of the urban middle class—united with the Western yeomen—which, "truly conservative," opposed all collectivism, that of trusts as well as of trade unions. "[The Progressives] insisted . . . upon the supremacy of laws over men or institutions, and they had a naive belief in the efficacy of legislation to achieve their ends."

That is the accepted version. But it is a question whether the fact that super-businesses succeeded the old trusts discredits the attempts of the Progressives to prevent the evils of the trust system. Is it certain that without their efforts to restrain the trusts, those same trusts might not have become uncontrollable forces in American society? Were the Pro-

gressives really "naive" in fighting for salutary legislation? Let us grant that the Progressives failed to bring the millennium—who did?

What one can learn from "The Age of Enterprise," it seems to me, is that no book which does not take business into account can help us to understand ourselves today. An outlook—cultural, political, social—which ignores the business strain in our civilization will stumble somewhere. Sinclair Lewis in "Babbitt" and Matthew Josephson in "The Robber Barons" told only parts of the story. The rest of it includes such figures as Henry Villard, "Golden Rule" Jones of Toledo, Joseph Fels—yes, and Sherwood Anderson.

LOUIS FILLER

A Selected List of Children's Books

BY LENA BARKSDALE

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- Dorcas Porcus.* By Tasha Tudor. Oxford. 75 cents. A pet pig runs true to form. Delicate pictures in water color.
- Marshmallow.* By Clare Turlay Newberry. Harper. \$1.75. A true story of a cat and a rabbit who became friends. Excellent pictures.
- Hi-Ho the Hippo.* By Dorothy Thomas. Illustrations by Ruth Gannett. Random House. \$3. Handsome lithographs, many in full color, illustrate this fantastic hippopotamus story.
- Cecily G. and the Nine Monkeys.* By H. A. Rey. Houghton Mifflin. \$1.75. Merry nonsense about an obliging giraffe and her energetic monkey friends.
- Flip and the Cows.* By Wesley Dennis. Viking. \$1.50. Tells of an incident in the pasture between Flip, the colt, and the cows. Pictures full of action.
- Dash and Dart.* By Mary and Conrad Buff. Viking. \$2. Simply told story about the life of two fawns in the forest, with many lovely pictures.
- The Little Red Lighthouse and the Great Gray Bridge.* By Hildegard H. Swift and Lynn Ward. Harcourt, Brace. \$1.75. Good pictures and an appealing story about a tiny Hudson River lighthouse.

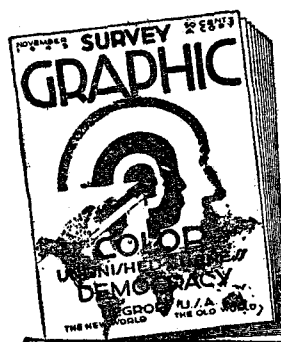
TALES OF FACT AND FANCY

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- Away in a Manger.* Selected and illustrated by Jean Thoburn. Oxford. \$1. This dainty book contains a well-chosen collection of Christmas verse.
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IN BRIEF

THE BURNING WHEEL. By Slater Brown. Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$2.50.

Mr. Brown has written a serious and intelligent novel about a group of poor Connecticut farmers and the frenetic city people who buy farms and become their neighbors. When one of the city men seduces the daughter of a farmer, all the tensions latent between the two groups flare up into melodrama and violence. Using the device of a narrator who is welcome in both camps, the author can tell his story without restricting his point of view to one side or the other; in fact, Mr. Brown's ability to look at all his characters with equal honesty and understanding is an outstanding achievement among present-day novelists. But it was not necessary for him to put a "curse" upon his valley: all such communities are cursed, and for the same reasons. The malignancy that Mr. Brown attributes to his particular part of the countryside, symbolized by the scrambling poison ivy, deprives his novel of its full significance and indicates an unwarranted lack of faith in his ability to tell a general truth about people.

MY HEART FOR HOSTAGE. By Robert Hillyer. Random House. \$2.50.

Writing simply, and dully, Mr. Hillyer tells the love story of an American soldier in Paris at the end of the last war. The American boy, who is very New England, has an affair with a French girl, who is very French. The girl lies, the boy judges too quickly, and although the two love each other dearly, they fail to make a go of things. With a little bounce and humor here would be material for a nice light novel, but instead, unfortunately, Mr. Hillyer has written a thin and nostalgic reminiscence.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. By Richmond Croom Beatty. Vanderbilt University Press. \$3.

In a highly finished work urbanely and effortlessly combining biography, literary criticism, social history, and scholarship Professor Beatty has performed the difficult feat of revealing James Russell Lowell in "the essential shallowness of his mind" while doing full justice to his abilities and his charm both as a man and as a writer and to his significance in American life. Without debunking

Lowell he shows him up and yet leaves him worth reading and worth reading about. If his culture was derivative it was real, and as for the core of the man, he himself asked: "If I am not an American, who ever was?" To read about him in these pages is a pleasure.

INDIANS OF SOUTH AMERICA.

By Paul Radin. American Museum of Natural History Science Series. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$4.

While the hazards of armchair anthropology are different, they are not less than those of direct investigation; but Dr. Radin skirts the usual difficulties more skilfully than usual, producing a lively book whose main ingredients are quotations and condensations liberally gathered from a variety of good sources. Failing to satisfy the interest it stimulates, "Indians of South America" derives its merit largely from the fact that the author has indicated the richness of the field as well as the paucity of information concerning it. He has charted the subject in its broad outlines, described in interesting detail the specific culture traits of a number of aboriginal tribes, and raised provocative questions, to some of which he offers tentative

solutions. Native cultures are described as they existed in the past or as they persist, virtually unchanged, in the present. The sole chapter dealing with fairly recent times describes the life of "a modern Aymara," and relies chiefly for its material on a late nineteenth-century account by Adolph Bandelier. The failure to include any discussion of Indian-white acculturation is most unfortunate, for it throws the whole picture out of focus so that the book, though vivid and true in detail, is vague and inaccurate as a whole.

BOHDAN: HETMAN OF UKRAINE.

By George Vernadsky. Yale University Press. \$2.50.

This is a somewhat romanticized biography of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who in 1648 led the famous Ukrainian rebellion against Poland and presided over an impartial massacre of Polish landlords, Catholic clergy, and Jewish tradesmen and land agents. The story has its picturesque side, which is highlighted by the author, and also its obscurantist and brutal side, which is not. The social aspects of the Cossack movement, and its larger European significance, are noticed but not developed.

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of London & Williamsburg

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HE ...

was beloved by Samuel Johnson who hated all Americans; was helped by Thomas Jefferson who hated all Englishmen.



SHE ...

ruled two Paradise houses; helped her daughter elope; loved and asked to live with Jefferson at "Monticello."

ART

PAVEL TCHELITCHEW. Paintings and drawings. The Museum of Modern Art, until November 29. Tchelitchev is one of those whose function it is to supply up-to-date art for the forward-looking masses on Fifty-seventh Street. Also, like his fellow neo-romantics and most of the orthodox surrealists, he reverses the anti-pictorial trend of cubist and abstract art to assert again the fictive nature of what the picture frame incloses. The painting becomes once more a window into another world—which in this case is generally supposed to be the artist's most private mind—and the frame is the unambiguous line of demarcation. Tchelitchev is accomplished enough. But in essence his work is a vulgarized documentation of most of the fashions in advanced painting since 1920, and his pictures, taken even on their own terms, are deadened by their trite and static organization. Everything stays too obediently in its place, the value of one color is too close to the value of every other color in the given picture, tonality is too even, design too balanced. There are, however, three or four likable pictures: two comparatively early harlequin subjects, a gaudy autumnal double-image landscape in gouache, painted recently, and a pretty painting called "In the Madhouse." In his present phase the artist should stick to gouache or water color; his latest oils with their shrill saccharine color and gelatinous symbolism set a new high in vulgarity.

JOHN B. FLANNAGAN. Sculpture and drawings. The Museum of Modern Art. It is more difficult in these times to be a good sculptor than a good painter. Flannagan was a good sculptor. Yet there can be discerned in his work most of the hesitations that afflict the contemporary artist. His respect for his material, his reluctance to interfere with it, and his greater success in small format reflect among other things his lack of a conviction or certainty definite and strong enough to justify the complete transformation of a large brute block of stone into a man-made monument. Less assurance is required, it seems, to create in two than in three dimensions. In three dimensions one works closer to one's subject; and without the control of some fixed point of view which has an authority more than personal, there is a danger of succumbing to subject matter and verging, as

Flannagan threatens to in more than one animal or figure piece, on the sentimental and even the cute. Flannagan is saved only by his sensitivity to the abstract forms dictated by recalcitrant matter; in the nick of time they step in to rescue the work of art. But there were also certain advantages in Flannagan's plight. Very little sculpture in stone has ever permitted the intimacy and the directness yet delicacy of feeling which are to be perceived in his. This is really lyric sculpture. It is quite likely that Flannagan was the best native sculptor we have had in this country.

PEGGY BACON: "Pens and Needles." Retrospective exhibition of pastels, prints, and drawings. Associated American Artists Galleries, until November 21. Miss Bacon is a crisp draftsman and, within the limitations of our culture and age, an amusing if rather distracted satirist. Her dry points, beside which her pastels are unimportant, are more effective in their details than as whole pictures. As wholes they are conceived in an offhand, unimaginative way, right in the tradition of the best Anglo-Saxon comic and caricatural art. Miss Bacon is not thoughtful enough to put real sting into her humor. This shows not only in the kind of anecdote she records but also in the very quality of her feathery line.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

RECORDS

GROPING for words to explain the compulsion that had led him, after a couple of Beethoven sonatas, to play a few small pieces by Schubert, a pianist I know said: "They are so much less important—but so much more beautiful." Some of Schubert's works, however, have great import as well as their heart-stabbing beauty; and one of these is the Piano Trio Op. 99, of which Victor offers a new recording made by Rubinstein, Heifetz, and Feuermann (Set 923, \$4.73) to replace the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals version that has been withdrawn. One must regret the loss of the older version, with Casals's marvelously inflected performance of the cello part; but one must be glad that the new one is so good. Feuermann lacks the fire that produces the dynamic force, the powerful tensions of Casals's phrasing, but he plays with the beauty of tone, the impeccable plastic sense in phrasing that were to be heard in all his performances; Rubinstein and Heifetz play

much better than Cortot and Thibaud—Heifetz, for once, with uncharacteristic simplicity; and without achieving the degree of ensemble integration that was the result of all the playing which Casals, Cortot, and Thibaud did together, Feuermann, Heifetz, and Rubinstein do achieve a good group performance. Except for a pace in the second movement that is a little too fast for the proper effect of the music, and a nervousness of style in Rubinstein's playing in this movement that also is disadvantageous, the performance is an excellent statement of the work. And except for an occasional blanketing of the piano by the strings the performance is excellently recorded.

Also on Victor's November list are Rimsky-Korsakov's "Scheherazade" (Set 920, \$5.78) and Barber's Adagio for Strings (11-8287, \$1.05); and I can think of a large number of things for which Victor might better have used precious machinery, labor, and materials. Monteux's performance of "Scheherazade" with the San Francisco Symphony is more relaxed than Rodzinski's with the Cleveland Orchestra on Columbia, and is recorded with more richness of sound. Barber's piece is realized in the beautiful sonorities of the N. B. C. Symphony strings conducted by Toscanini.

On Columbia's November list is a set of all twenty-four of Chopin's Preludes played by Egon Petri (Set 523, \$4.73), which does not satisfy our need of a good recording of these pieces. As far as I can tell from what comes off the records, Petri's conceptions—if not the best I have heard or can imagine, and if not without details I would question—are competent and acceptable. But the execution of these conceptions, as it comes off the records, is extremely defective; and it is difficult to tell whether the cause is wholly or only partly the faulty recording. The unbalanced recording of the sound of the piano—with the middle and lower range heavily outweighing the upper range—causes the melody in the right hand to be too weak and at times completely inaudible; but when only one or two sounds of an ornamental turn are not heard it may be because Petri has not played the turn clearly. And so with the many rapid passages that are blurred and confused.

On a Columbia single disc (71399-D, \$1.05) are Elizabeth's Prayer from "Tannhäuser" and Elsa's Dream from "Lohengrin," well sung by Astrid Varnay.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Constance Rourke: Reply from the Critics' Den

Dear Sirs: I don't know whether to laugh at Margaret Marshall's curious delusion that she, and she alone, fully appreciated and understood Constance Rourke's beautiful work or to protest against her surly misrepresentation (in *The Nation* of October 24) of my *New Republic* review of "The Roots of American Culture." Perhaps I may do both.

No one would possibly guess from Miss Marshall's heavily scornful remarks that my review was essentially a tribute to one whom I considered one of the great philosophic folklorists of our time and a writer whom I described as an artist and an extraordinarily sensitive and scholarly student of the full range of our American culture. No one would possibly guess that I did not "dismiss" Constance Rourke but carefully distinguished her from the shallow folksy nationalists and professional antiquaries who are forcing so synthetic a patriotism on us today. No one would possibly guess that I praised Constance Rourke as having a vision of people's culture equal to D. H. Lawrence's; that I spoke of her as "an observer, a seeker of [American] essence"; that the very title of the piece, *The Irreducible Element*, pointed to her deep understanding of the estrangement from their native society, the ignorance of their native resources, that so many writers suffer from in America.

Nor would anyone possibly guess from Miss Marshall how warmly I wrote of Constance Rourke's exquisite taste, her joy in America, the "quiet exhilaration" in it that she described in Audubon and that I found in her. For obviously Miss Marshall did not mean anyone to guess. Because I dared to point out that Constance Rourke's recovery of so many native folk materials was not quite enough for us today, it appears that I "dismissed" her. Because I dared to suggest that Constance Rourke was an artist in those materials rather than a critic bringing past and present together, it appears that I did not take in the full meaning of her classic, "American Humor." But I did take it in, and I took Constance Rourke so seriously, wished so deeply to learn from her, that I examined her

work where others merely praise her glibly because she proved America not quite the artistic desert they once thought it to be. But let Miss Marshall go back to the last chapters of "American Humor" and ask herself why Constance Rourke could write of Henry James only in terms of "The American," of Lardner only in terms of his dialogue, of Lewis only in terms of his cracker-barrel talk. My point was simply that for all her skill in analysis of the materials she recovered, Constance Rourke could only examine fragments of those materials in modern and contemporary writers. I said that she did not approach criticism on its contemporary ground; she thought she did, and Miss Marshall takes the will for the deed. But there is an essential vagueness in the last chapters of "American Humor," as in the last chapter of "The Roots of American Culture," that is inevitable in view of her concentration on our pre-industrial culture, her joy in the recovery of it, and her great desire—so abundantly fulfilled—to prove that Americans did have a distinct and often beautiful native culture of their own.

Nothing in Miss Marshall's piece, I must add, is so revealing as her notion that "American Humor" is "scandalously neglected." Of course it is neglected—among the avant-garde critics and those who believe anything is chauvinistic which speaks of our American nativity, our "irreducible element." If Miss Marshall knew anything of the studies of American literature that go on in our universities and scholarly magazines, if her own literary culture were not so limited to the avant-garde critics themselves, she would know that "American Humor" is studied and admired everywhere among those who have read something more than Partridge and Brooks. And she would know of the many who have declared it to be—as I consider it—one of the prime works on the American imagination.

But Miss Marshall *must* seize upon Constance Rourke; and use her as a banner. When one's reading of Emerson is limited to one's childhood, Constance Rourke's studies in Emerson's world can seem larger than life.

ALFRED KAZIN

New York, October 28

Miss Marshall's Rebuttal

Mr. Kazin's review was a tribute to Miss Rourke's "beautiful work" in the sense that a funeral service in a cemetery is a tribute. In his first four paragraphs he made many pleasant remarks: he even made statements which pointed to a quite different conclusion from the one he came to. His last two paragraphs, which I cited specifically as the basis for my comment, would certainly cause a reader not already familiar with her work to assume that it was charming but perishable and quite irrelevant for all practical or contemporary purposes. His final sentence, "Commemoration, somehow, is not enough," was the last sad shovelful thrown on the grave. That was his final verdict, and though it was delivered more in sorrow than in anger, it constitutes a dismissal.

In his letter Mr. Kazin says that the title of his review pointed to Miss Rourke's "deep understanding of the estrangement from their native society, the ignorance of their native resources, that so many writers suffer in America." (Isn't it asking a good deal of a reader to expect him to deduce so much from a title?) But surely such deep understanding, which is as rare as Rourkes, points not to static commemoration but to a living critical perception highly relevant to the present. It hardly squares either with Mr. Kazin's faintly patronizing description of Miss Rourke in the last paragraph of his review as living "in that recovered morning world [of early America]."

I still don't see how anyone who has taken in "American Humor" can say that Miss Rourke was an "artist in those materials" but not a critic bringing past and present together. To take only one example: he complains that she "could" write of Henry James only in terms of "The American." She *could* have written volumes about him; in "American Humor" she did write twenty pages of general and illuminating comment on James aside from the ten she gave to "The American." The design of the book hardly allowed for the detailed analysis of more than one novel. And I shouldn't be surprised if she assumed that the reader, having read it, might be capable of applying her insights and conclusions to other novels by the same author.

As for the charge of vagueness, Miss Rourke, it is true, did not provide charts showing our traditions in neat parallel columns; nor did she set down a recipe for writing the great American novel. She did give us a fresh discovering view of the sources that James and Dickinson and Whitman and Poe drew upon, consciously and unconsciously: by so doing she made the reader aware of the sources of his own thought and feeling. Is that criticism or commemoration?

Mr. Kazin's last paragraph is irrelevant, though I enjoy his rousing angry portrait of myself. Even I knew that Miss Rourke's work is valued by scholars. (I only hope it will be made compulsory for students, and for the right reasons.) The quite uncryptic title of my article indicated that it was concerned with the critics and the reviewers of books. They, rather than the scholars, must be depended upon to communicate Miss Rourke's ideas to the general public. I happen to think that is desirable.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Books on Trial

Dear Sirs: Your readers may be interested to learn that the defendants convicted in the Oklahoma criminal-syndicalism prosecutions, nationally known as the Oklahoma book trials, have been ordered to return to the state by December 1 to receive the verdict of Oklahoma's highest tribunal of justice, the Criminal Court of Appeals.

It will be recalled that in August, 1940, simultaneous raids with liquor search warrants were made on the Progressive Bookstore, the Communist Party headquarters, and six private homes in Oklahoma City. Nine men and three women were finally indicted under the Oklahoma criminal-syndicalism law on charges of possessing "Communist" books and of membership in the Communist Party. The evidence against them consisted entirely of books from the bookstore and from their private libraries. Three men and one woman were convicted on that evidence and sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary and a fine of \$5,000 each. The court refused to allow the introduction of evidence to show that the books to which the prosecution objected were also on the shelves of the library of the University of Oklahoma.

Eight men and women still face trial. Their books are still locked up in the Oklahoma County jail—among them "The Communist Manifesto," the novels of Jack London, the speeches of

Abraham Lincoln, and the Constitution of the United States.

Arguments on these cases were held before the Criminal Court of Appeals on September 9. Judge Thomas Doyle, eldest member of the three-man court, refused to listen to the attorneys for the defense and absented himself from the court during the entire proceedings, although he announced that he would take part in making the decision.

Two weeks later 176 prominent clergymen, including Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, Bishop James C. Baker of Los Angeles, the Reverend John D. Day of Topeka, Dean E. N. Comfort of Oklahoma, Dr. John Van Schaick, Jr. of the *Christian Leader*, and the Reverend John C. Cranberry of the *Emancipator*, addressed a letter to the Governor of Oklahoma assailing these prosecutions as a violation of the hard-won American right to freedom of conscience.

Those of your readers who see these prosecutions as part of the struggle of Southern diehards to preserve the economic and political status quo—as a threat to a free America—are urged to write to Mac Q. Williamson, attorney general of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, asking that the state confess error in these cases and drop its attempt to sustain the convictions of the District Court.

ELIZABETH Z. GREEN

New York, November 2

Undaunted Refugees

Dear Sirs: We who are associated with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee are very proud to point to Konstantin Najd, thirty-year-old veteran of the Spanish War whose remarkable deeds as a leader in the Yugoslav guerrilla forces were especially cited in the press dispatches some weeks ago. For Konstantin Nadj, as a member of the International Brigade, was helped by our organization, and it was by such means that he was enabled to return to his homeland, where he now continues so magnificently the fight which was actually begun in 1936 in Spain.

This valiant young man is only one of the hundreds of anti-fascist fighters who have been aided by this committee to resume a life of activity and usefulness in our common cause. This was the opportunity they sought; it was the hope that sustained them in their starved and persecuted lives after they crossed the frontier into France. In Mexico and elsewhere they are making an incalculably high contribution; they are serving on every front as active

fighters, as laborers, as writers and professionals.

A considerable number of less fortunate anti-fascist refugees, though they possess visas, are unable to obtain transportation because of lack of funds. The rates on the small Portuguese boats which bring them to Vera Cruz are indeed high, but it seems to us that no price is too great to bring to safety these men and women who, after unbelievable suffering, are still undaunted and ready to make any effort to defeat the Axis.

EDWARD K. BARSKY, Chairman,
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
New York, October 14

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